THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE

OF

THOMAS ELLWOOD:

OR

An ACCOUNT of his BIRTH, EDUCATION, &c. with divers Obſervations on his Life and Manners when a Youth: and how he came to be convinced of the TRUTH; with his many Sufferings and Services for the ſame.—Alſo ſeveral other remarkable Paſſages and Occurrences.

WRITTEN BY HIS OWN HAND.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A SUPPLEMENT,

By J. W.

Hebrews xi. 2.—*By Faith the Elders obtained a good Report.*

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THE

PREFACE.

"GATHER up the fragments that "remain, that nothing be loſt," * was the direction of our Saviour to his Diſciples, after he had fed the multitude. Which may well and uſefully be applied, to the collecting and preſerving the accounts of the lives of good men: men, who in their day have been eminently uſeful in thoſe ſtations of life wherein God, by his good Providence, hath placed them. And this preſerving, by publication, is the rather to be done, when themſelves do leave behind them, in writing, an account of their lives, and of the ſignal mercies of God to them therein: for from

* John vi. 12.

ſuch accounts may beſt be gathered, by the reader, the man's particular ſtate, exerciſe and growth in the work of reſtoration, out of the fall and degeneracy; and, in the reading thereof, be not only excited to bleſs the name of the Lord, on his behalf, but alſo gain ſome direction from the path ſo fairly tracked out, and ground of hope; that by being faithful, they may likewiſe attain to the ſame good experience.

There is not with me any doubt, but ſomething of this kind may be the lot of many, into whoſe hands this treatiſe may happen to come; for that they will herein meet with variety of exerciſes, and the Providences of God therein, all related with great ſtrength and plainneſs of ſpeech: Our deceaſed friend, Thomas Ellwood, having been a man whom God had endued with ſingular abilities, both as a man, and as a Chriſtian; which is evident,

evident, not only from this ſhort account of his life, which was written by himſelf, and by the Supplement added hereunto; but more largely from his many uſeful labours and ſervices in the many books which he wrote in the defence of truth, and the friends thereof: for which ſervice he was in a particular manner qualified by ſpiritual wiſdom, and Chriſtian obedience; to which, in him, was added great ſtrength and depth of judgment, wherein he could diſcern the ſpirits of others, and was very much the maſter of his own, as did appear to ſuch who knew him, not only by the ſoundneſs of his reaſoning, and the ſeaſonableneſs of his words; but alſo by his great and exemplary modeſty, in that he was not haſty to propoſe, nor rudely tenacious to inſiſt on what he had propoſed, if any thing, though not well expreſt, yet well intended, was offered by any one much weaker, nay, though but by a babe in Chriſt.

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His countenance was manly and chearful; his deportment grave, yet affable and courteous, even to the meaneſt perſon; his converſation innocent, pleaſant, and inſtructive, yet ſevere againſt any thing that was beyond the liberty of truth. Theſe, with his other qualifications of body and mind, did render him both very acceptable and very uſeful, as a friend, as a neighbour, and as a member and elder in the church of Chriſt; and the more, for that his time was chiefly employed in being ſerviceable in one or other of theſe capacities.

I might here particularly mention the ſeveral labours of our deceaſed friend, according to their reſpective times, and the nature of their ſeveral ſubjects; but much of this being already done in the enſuing pages, I chuſe to remit the reader thither; by which poſſibly he may be excited to the peruſal of them, and ſhall only

only ſay concerning them, that the judicious reader will eaſily obſerve, that his method and ſtile do denote him to have been a ſcholar: and yet not farther ſo, than the ſimplicity and purity of the truth, whereof he made profeſſion, would permit him.

I was with our friend Thomas Ellwood the greater part of his ſickneſs: in which he was alſo very frequently viſited by our friend George Bowles, who was his neighbour; to whom therefore I refer, for the account which he may give of his ſickneſs and dying words.

As it was my good lot to be well acquainted with him (though only in the latter years of his life) and know that he did neither uſe nor encourage the beſtowing elaborate encomiums upon perſons deceaſed; ſo neither ſhall I add further concerning

concerning him, than to ſay with the Apoſtle, concerning the faithful, " That " he was righteous, God teſtifying of " his gifts; and by it being dead, yet " ſpeaketh." *

J. W.

LONDON,
the 12th of the ſecond month, 1714.

* Hebrews xi. 4.

GEORGE

GEORGE BOWLES *his* TESTIMONY *concerning*
THOMAS ELLWOOD.

Dear Friends,

IT is in my heart briefly, on this occaſion, to commemorate the tender dealings of the Lord with his people in this latter age of the world, when it hath pleaſed him, in love to poor loſt man, graciouſly to appear, by the breaking forth of his glorious goſpel-day. And by the ſecret divine reaches of the hand of God, which hath been felt and ſeen in the light of it, many have been drawn in their ſpirits to ſeek after the Lord, and to enquire after the knowledge of the way of life and ſalvation; and bleſſed be his holy name, who was graciouſly pleaſed, by the in-ſhinings of this divine light in the hearts of many, to expel the darkneſs and rend the veil. And then was the arm of his mighty power made bare, for the gathering many thouſands to the ſaving knowledge of himſelf. And in that day was the Lord pleaſed, according to his promiſe, to pour forth of his ſpirit upon ſons and upon daughters; yea, upon ſervants and upon handmaids, and many were made to propheſy; and being qualified by the holy ſpirit which they received, and were baptized by it into his name, became willing, and were freely given up in obedience to the Lord, and in bowels of tender love to the ſouls of

 mankind,

mankind, in his power to preach the goſpel of life and ſalvation to thoſe to whom they were ſent, and many were turned from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, by their miniſtry; amongſt whom our dear deceaſed friend and brother Thomas Ellwood was one, whoſe conſcience was reached and awakened by the powerful miniſtry of dear Edward Burrough, as I have heard him relate, (and as by the following ſheets will more plainly appear). And of that day and time, and the worthy inſtrument by whoſe miniſtry he was convinced, and turned unto God, and made ſenſible of the divine principle of life and light in his own heart, have I heard him ſpeak with great regard; and alſo of the ſufferings which did attend him, after he received the truth, in his father's family, for the truth's ſake; and how the Lord preſerved him in that time, under the various exerciſes which he paſſed through for truth's teſtimony; which for Chriſt's ſake he was conſcientiouſly concerned to ſtand in, according to that plainneſs and ſimplicity which truth then led, and ſtill continues to lead the ſincere diſciples of Chriſt into, by which they were diſtinguiſhed from the world; and, for the ſake thereof, they were deſpiſed of men, and hated of the world. Such was the plain language of Thou to one, and refuſing the Hat-honour; for which, dear T. Ellwood ſuffered not a little in that day, as by the following account of his life more fully appears. And it were well if all who come up in a profeſſion of the bleſſed

bleſſed truth in this time, were faithful in theſe, and in the other branches of its teſtimony. And let all conſider, that the neglecting thereof, is, in a degree, a making void the ſufferings of the faithful, (and ſtrengthening the hands of evil doers) who for the ſake of their teſtimony, loved not their lives to the death; but underwent cruel mockings, buffetings, ſtonings, whippings, ſtockings, revilings, imprisonments, and ſpoiling of goods; rejoicing in the Lord, that they were counted worthy to ſuffer, either leſs or more, for his name ſake. In reſpect of which, this my dear friend was a good example, he being a man of a ſteady mind, and very patient in ſuffering, as well as faithful in his teſtimony for truth, and took joyfully the ſpoiling of his goods, wherein he was tried but a few years before his death. He was often concerned in defence of truth's teſtimony, both againſt our profeſſed adverſaries, and alſo againſt the libertine ſpirit which appeared in ſome, profeſſing the ſame truth with us, who oppoſed themſelves againſt that good order and diſcipline which the truth led friends into. All which will abundantly appear from the books themſelves, which are in print, which he writ upon various occaſions, and upon divers ſubjects; and let not his great labour and induſtry be forgotten, in his writing thoſe two hiſtorical volumes, relating to the Old and New Teſtament; a work truly great, and is, and may be of great uſe and ſervice. By all which his many labours, it may be perceived by the wary

and enlightened reader, that the Lord had endowed him with an excellent gift, and qualified him for the ſervice of truth, his church and people; in which he employed the talent which the bountiful Lord had given him, to the honour of the great giver, and to the comfort and edification of the church of Chriſt: but more eſpecially were his ſervices known to the brethren in this county of Bucks; moſt of which are fallen aſleep, and but few remaining here, who knew him in his beginning, or his firſt ſervices for the Lord, his church and people; amongſt whom he was a zealous aſſerter of that excellent diſcipline the Lord had opened in, and led his people to, for the preſerving his church as a garden encloſed: for which cauſe, how did many of thoſe libertines ſet themſelves fiercely againſt him, and ſhot their arrows at him; but the Lord defended him, and covered his head in the day of battle, and his bow abode in ſtrength, and his bough ſpread over the wall, and continued freſh and green: but a blaſt from the Lord came upon their evil work; and how have they melted away? And how is their ſtrength failed, and their work brought to nought? But the bleſſing of the Lord is with his people, even with the faithful, to this day, whom he hath preſerved as a peculiar treaſure to himſelf: bleſſed be his holy name for evermore. And furthermore, it may be truly ſaid of this our dear friend, that as the Lord fitted him for his ſervice, ſo was he eminently ſerviceable in his hand, in the church of Chriſt; particularly in theſe parts,

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of which there are many living witneſſes, in this and the adjacent counties, of his great labour of love, having ſerved the church freely, with great diligence and faithfulneſs: the true ſenſe of which, toucheth me and others, with the deeper ſenſe of the great loſs the church hath by his removal; but being alſo ſenſible through the Lord's goodneſs, that our loſs is his eternal gain, I feel in my heart an humble ſubmiſſion to the will of him who doth whatſoever pleaſeth him, both in heaven and in earth; and who ſhall ſay unto him, 'What doeſt thou?' And it is the tender breathing of my ſpirit to the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed, in pity and compaſſion to his poor people, to raiſe up, fit and furniſh more faithful ſervants for his work and ſervice, and make them zealous for his name and truth upon the earth, that the place of this my dear friend, and other faithful ſervants of the Lord and his people, of late removed from amongſt us in theſe parts, may be ſupplied; and that the ſpouſe of Chriſt may, amidſt all her tribulations, afflictions, and ſore exerciſes, be made to praiſe the Lord, and bleſs his holy name, who taketh away one, and raiſeth up another, and bleſſeth his children with his goodneſs, according to his promiſe made of old by the holy prophet Iſaiah, xliv. ver. 3. ſaying, "I will pour my "ſpirit upon thy ſeed, and my bleſſing upon thine "offspring." And thus hath the Lord preſerved Zion from age to age: and I doubt not, but am fully

perſuaded, that he will ſtill bleſs his people, and preſerve Zion, and deliver her from all her enemies.

And, my dear friends, brethren, and ſiſters, although it be matter of ſorrow to us to part with our dear friends, eſpecially ſuch as have been made ſerviceable in their day, and have faithfully ſerved the Lord and his people in their generation, as it may (I hope without juſt occaſion of offence to any) be ſaid of dear T. Ellwood, that he was a man who ſerved the Lord in faithfulneſs, and his people with cheerfulneſs, and his neighbours with uprightneſs and integrity: and therefore both they and we have the greater loſs; yet may we not ſorrow unſeaſonably, as thoſe which ſorrow without hope, but believing that the Lord hath taken him to himſelf in mercy (though it may be in judgment to ſome who were unworthy) let us all learn reſignation to his bleſſed will, and ſay with holy Job, "The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away: "bleſſed be the name of the Lord." And, dear friends, I may farther ſignify unto you, that it being my lot to be with this our dear friend (of whom I am ſpeaking) almoſt every day of his laſt illneſs, I did obſerve in him, to my great comfort and ſatisfaction, a quiet compoſed frame of mind and ſpirit, and reſignation to the will of God. When I came firſt to him, which was ſoon after I heard of his being taken ill, which was the 24th of the ſecond month, I found him very much diſabled by the diſtemper, which was thought to be a palſy, that had ſeized him, eſpecially on

on his right ſide, ſo that he could not ſtand alone, nor help himſelf, but a little with his left hand; and his ſpeech was alſo very much interrupted, inſomuch that it was with great difficulty, for the moſt part, that he expreſſed himſelf ſo as to be underſtood. Some time after I came to him, there being alſo other friends with him, we ſat down together under a weighty exerciſe of ſpirit, waiting upon the Lord in deep ſilence, with our eye to him, it pleaſed the Lord eminently to appear amongſt us, and to fill our hearts with the refreſhing ſtreams of his divine love, and to open the mouth of one of us in prayer and ſupplication; and the Lord was graciouſly pleaſed abundantly to repleniſh our ſpirits, to our mutual comfort, in a living ſenſe of divine goodneſs; and this our dear friend expreſſed himſelf in great tenderneſs and brokenneſs of ſpirit on this wiſe, 'I am ſenſibly 'comforted and refreſhed in this viſit.' And that afternoon, he, fixing his eyes upon me with great earneſtneſs of ſpirit, expreſſed, as well as he could at that time, a great concern that was upon his mind for truth, and the friends of it, in divers particulars; eſpecially in relation to our own Monthly and Quarterly meetings, the writings of both which had been under his care for more than forty years: after which he was much eaſed in his ſpirit, and ſo continued to the laſt, ſo far as I perceived; often ſaying, when aſked how he did, 'I am eaſy, I am quiet.' And he was often very tender in his ſpirit, expreſſing his reſignation

to the will of God, whether in life or death, ſaying, 'If the Lord hath no more work for me to do, I am 'content and reſigned to his will; and my hearty 'farewel to all my brethren.' And at another time, nearer his end, he ſaid to us preſent, in much brokenneſs of heart, 'I am full of joy and peace, my ſpirit 'is filled with joy,' or to this effect; for by reaſon that his ſpeech was ſo weakened, ſeveral things could not be ſo well collected, which he at times ſpake, in a tender ſenſe of the Lord's goodneſs; the ſenſe of which deeply affected ſome of us who were with him. And my heart is ſorrowfully affected at this time, in a ſenſe of the great loſs which the church of Chriſt (in theſe parts eſpecially) hath by his removal: but in this I am comforted, in a living ſenſe of the Lord's mercy and goodneſs towards him, in carrying him through his affliction in great patience and quietneſs, under which he was ſweetly refreſhed by the ſtreams of divine love, and his cup was often made to overflow: and we, who were preſent, being touched with a ſenſe thereof, were comforted therein, being in a travail of ſpirit for him, and did in our meaſures truly ſympathize with him under his affliction. And I am fully ſatisfied, he laid down his head in peace with the Lord, and is gathered to his everlaſting reſt.—He departed this life the 1ſt of the third month, 1713, about the ſecond hour in the morning, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age. He received the truth in the year 1659, and lived in fellowſhip with the friends of

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it about fifty-three years: and I think it may be truly ſaid of him, that as he lived ſo he died, the ſervant of the LORD and his people, and hath left a ſweet ſavour behind him, and his memory is bleſſed with the righteous for ever. Amen.

GEORGE BOWLES.

The Eighth Month,
1713.

A TESTIMONY *from the* Monthly-Meeting *at* Hunger-Hill, *the 7th of the fourth Month*, 1713, *concerning our dear and well-beloved Friend and Brother in the Truth*, THOMAS ELLWOOD, *deceaſed.*

THAT the dead which die in the Lord, are bleſſed of him, we have great aſſurance of, from John the divine his writing to the ſeven churches, Rev. xiv. 13. where he tells them, that he "heard a voice from heaven, ſaying, Write, Bleſſed "are the dead which die in the Lord, from hence-"forth: Yea, ſaith the Spirit, that they may reſt "from their labours, and their works do follow "them." Of which number, we have no cauſe to doubt, but this our dear friend is one; who was eminently ſerviceable in the church of Chriſt. A

man to whom the Lord had given a large capacity beyond many, and furniſhed him with an excellent gift; whereby he was qualified for thoſe ſervices in the church, in the performance of which he did ſhine as a ſtar, which received its luſtre and brightneſs from the glorious Sun of Righteouſneſs. He was wiſe, but humble; condeſcending to the weak, and ready to help where he ſaw and felt ſincerity; but ſharp to that which he apprehended to be inſincere and deceitful; for which cauſe, he was not acceptable to hypocrites and diſorderly walkers: yet he was a man of a very acceptable and agreeable converſation, as well as ſober and religious, both in the church and in the world, being of a free and affable temper and diſpoſition, far from affectation, but of a courteous behaviour and graceful carriage to all, and very ſerviceable to and amongſt his neighbours. He was very near and dear to many of us, who were moſt intimately acquainted with him, and his memorial is ſweet to us. His ſervices in our meetings, and in the Quarterly-meeting for the county of Bucks, were very great, and of many years continuance; in which he ſhewed great diligence, being of a ready mind, willing to ſerve the church, according to that ability which the Lord had given him; and his heart and houſe was open to his friends, and the Monthly-meeting was kept there more than forty years, and remains there to this day. Our loſs is great by his removal; but in this we are ſatisfied, that it is his everlaſting gain, being

being gathered, as we have good cauſe to believe, to his eternal reſt. The knowledge we had of him, and the good account which we have received of him, in the time of his laſt illneſs, by thoſe who were moſt conſtantly with him, and of his quiet and peaceable departure, doth ſenſibly engage our hearts to acquieſce in the will of the Lord; and therein we have peace and comfort. He departed this life the 1ſt of the third month, 1713, and was honourably buried in friends burying-place at New Jourdans, in the pariſh of Giles-Chalfont, in the county of Bucks, the 4th day of the ſame month.

Signed, by the appointment of the Monthly-meeting, by us,

GEORGE BOWLES,
WILLIAM GRIMSDALL,
JAMES SMITH,
DANIEL WHARLEY,
DANIEL ROBERTS,
ABRAHAM BARBER,
THOMAS OLLIFFE.

A TESTIMONY *from the* Women's-meeting *concerning* THOMAS ELLWOOD.

A CONCERN is upon our ſpirits to write ſomewhat concerning our dear deceaſed friend and elder Thomas Ellwood, who was highly valued by us for that wiſdom and counſel which were with him; and being of a free and affable temper, ready to aſſiſt thoſe who ſtood in need thereof, encouraged many to apply to him for advice, under the divers circumſtances and various exerciſes which this uncertain world affords; which we have found to be for our good, as we followed it. He was an early comer to meetings, ſeldom hindered by weather (though he lived three miles diſtant) when bodily weakneſs did not hinder, of late years being oft indiſpoſed as to his health. The Monthly-meeting was held at his houſe about forty years, and he always looked very kind and courteous on friends when they came there, and took care and notice of the meaneſt, who came in ſincerity. He was zealous for good order, and againſt ſuch, who, being in an apoſtatized ſpirit, oppoſed it; and may well be numbered amongſt the worthies, whoſe names are upon record for their valour; ſo is this our friend worthy to be, who never turned his back on ſuch who oppoſed the truth; but ſtood his ground, as his printed ſheets on ſuch occaſions do ſhew. As alſo his other works of ſeveral kinds,

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do manifeſt how great endowments God had beſtowed on him, (yet we, who knew him in his converſation, are engaged to ſet forth how kind and condeſcending he was to the weakeſt capacity, and would help out when they wanted a word) that generations to come may learn how good it is to forſake all, and follow Chriſt Jeſus, as this our friend did, and the account of his life, following, ſhews; who not only gives wiſdom, but teacheth humility alſo.

He was greatly reſpected by his neighbours, for his ſervices amongſt them; his heart and doors were open to the poor, both ſick and lame, who wanted help, and had it freely, taking care to provide things uſeful for ſuch occaſions, (bleſt alſo with good ſucceſs) often ſaying, 'He mattered not what coſt he was at, to do 'good.' Such lament their loſs: what then may we do, who miſs him in an higher ſtation, in his great ſervice in the church of Chriſt, but even deſire to be reſigned to the will of the Lord? who preſerved him through all his hardſhips, to a dominion over falſe brethren, and is now out of their reach, and of temptation too; on whoſe head the bleſſing aſked for Joſeph reſts; who as a fruitful bough his branch ſpreads over the wall of oppoſition, and his bow abode in ſtrength; the hands of whoſe arms were made ſtrong by the help of the mighty God of Jacob, to whom be the glory for what he hath wrought in our day, whoſe own works praiſe him for evermore. And the tears of ſorrow that we ſhed for the loſs of this

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our deceaſed friend, let them be remembered to bow our ſpirits, each of us, into a godly care, that we may come up according to our ſeveral capacities, to follow the Lord faithfully, in a godly zeal for his honour; and ſo come to lay down our heads in joy and peace, as this our friend expreſſed he did.

This eminent ſervant of Chriſt, was early convinced of the way of truth, wherein he continued to the finiſhing of his days; for the ſake of which he ſoon became a ſufferer, not only by impriſonment, for worſhipping God in the aſſemblies of his people, but alſo from his father, by whom he was made as an outcaſt, for no other cauſe but for his faithful teſtimony in taking up the croſs to the world's behaviour and language; whereupon he was invited by his much valued friend Iſaac Pennington to his houſe, where he abode ſeveral years, until he married. He was a bleſſing in, as well as a great comfort and help to that family; and by his wiſe conduct therein, gained much eſteem, not only from the elders, but the youth, whom he inſtructed in learning; and though moſt of them are by death removed, yet one ſtill remains, who from certain and experimental knowledge, can commemorate his worth, being engaged thereto from a ſenſe of the benefit of his good and wholeſome advice, given at ſundry times and on divers occaſions, which friendſhip continued firm to the laſt.

His natural capacity was large, and his underſtanding, in the things of God, very deep; which excellent qualifications

qualifications meeting in one, rendered him uſeful beyond many to his country, as well as very ſerviceable in the church; by both which he is, and will be greatly miſſed. But he is gone to his grave in a full age, and gathered as a ſhock of corn in its ſeaſon, having done his day's work faithfully: ſo that ſaying may be verified in him, 'THE END CROWNS ALL.'

His ſickneſs was ſudden, which ſoon deprived him of the uſe of his limbs; yet he retained the faculties of his inward and outward ſenſes clear all along; and notwithſtanding at times his pains were great, his exemplary patience and compoſed reſignation was remarkably apparent to thoſe that viſited and attended him; ſo that their ſorrow in parting with ſo dear a friend, was intermixed with comfort in beholding the heavenly frame of mind wherewith he was adorned.

Thus, after all his labours, he entered into everlaſting reſt, and left many behind weeping, though not without hope, that they ſhall again meet at the general aſſembly of ſaints, where the redeemed ſhall ſing praiſes to their bleſſed Redeemer, whoſe right it is to reign for ever.

We have this farther to add, namely, That our eſteem of him was great, becauſe of that real worth that was in him, through the operation of the mighty power of the Lord that ſeparated him from the love of the world: ſo that he choſe (with Moſes) rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon; and it pleaſed the

Lord

Lord to fit him with wiſdom and counſel, ſo that he was made able to give judgment in difficult caſes, wherein many of us have particularly received benefit, and therefore have cauſe to lament the loſs we have by his removal. And oh! ſay our ſouls, that the Lord would raiſe up many more in his room, to the praiſe and honour of the good huſbandman. And it is our deſire that we, who are yet behind, may be made able ſo to ſteer our courſe through this troubleſome world, that when our end comes, we may lay down our heads in peace with the Lord, and leave a good ſavour behind us, as this our friend hath done.

This is written in true love and reſpect to the memory of our deceaſed friend, as it pleaſed the Lord to move upon our hearts: and being read and approved in our Women's meeting at Hunger-hill, the 4th of the eleventh month, 1713, was ſubſcribed in behalf of the ſaid Meeting, by us,

MARY BAKER,
MARY WHARLEY,
MARY LARCUM.

Concerning

Concerning our dear Friend THOMAS ELLWOOD, *of* HUNGER-HILL.

HE was much eſteemed amongſt good men: good men, in their day and ſtation upon the earth, repreſent him who made all things good in the beginning, who ſaid, Gen. i. 3. "Let there be "light, and there was light." And alſo ſaid, verſe 26. "Let us make man in our image, after our "likeneſs." Oh, high favour! "So God created "man in his own image, in the image of God created "he him; male and female created he them," ver. 27, and bleſſed them, and gave them dominion under himſelf; for he was chief commander then; and ſo he is witneſſed to be now, where his heavenly image is come into again, and men live in it, as did this our dear friend, who did good in his day and generation: counſel was with him, to give to ſuch as needed, and did apply to him: he was of a tender ſpirit, and had dominion over paſſion, over pride, and over covetouſneſs: ſo he was comfortable to, and in his family. He was amiable in the church of Chriſt, and a doer of good amongſt his neighbours. And being an elder amongſt, and with the elders, he hath not only obtained a good report, but alſo the bleſſing in the promiſed ſeed, which bruiſes the Serpent's head. He was valiant in ſuffering for his teſtimony which he held in the truth; and may not I ſay, unwearied in his

his labours for the ſetting forth the fame and excellency of it: whereby we ſee what the truth makes men to be, who do come under the conduct and power of it; even as fixed ſtars in the firmament of his divine power, who has cauſed the morning of his heavenly and glorious goſpel-day to break forth; and as with the day that ſprings from on high, in tender mercy hath he viſited many ſouls. And early did this our worthy deceaſed friend embrace it, as it appears by his teſtimony concerning that eminent and bleſſed meſſenger and miniſter of the goſpel, George Fox.

And now, he having endured the times of proving, and the days of tribulation and ſuffering, together with the perils and ſlights, and undervaluings of falſe brethren, againſt whoſe ungodly work he was engaged to ſtand as a noble warrior, in the defence of, and for the glorious goſpel of Chriſt: not admiring mens perſons, but the work of the goſpel-power. And although he was endowed with parts and accompliſhments above many, he was humble and grave; not ſelf-ſeeking, but eſteeming the power of truth, though it did appear through mean inſtruments. He was honourable, and honoured, for that he ſought not his own honour, but the honour of truth; not only by his ſufferings for it, and labours in it, but alſo in ſtanding firmly againſt the looſe libertine ones, who would have thruſt in amongſt the lambs and flock of Chriſt, in an unclean adulterating ſpirit, from the life of the true Shepherd, and Heavenly Huſband, Chriſt Jeſus:

Jeſus: but to the tender hearted, and ſincere minded, he was ſtrengthening and comfortable. I knew him when I was but young, and I can truly ſay, my heart has often been affected, on his behalf, with thankfulneſs to the Lord, who made him as a ſtrong pillar, in his ſpiritual houſe, with many more of his dear ſervants and children, who ſhall no more go out. His memory is in my heart eſteemed beyond what I can write. Oh ſurely! "The righteous ſhall be had in "everlaſting remembrance," Pſal. cxii. 6. "And "they that be wiſe, ſhall ſhine as the brightneſs of "the firmament: and they that turn many to righte-"ouſneſs, as the ſtars for ever and ever," Dan. xii. 3.

ELIZABETH RICHARDSON.

Hunger-Hill,
5th of the 7th month, 1713.

RICHARD VIVERS *his Teſtimony concerning* THOMAS ELLWOOD.

HE was a man of great wiſdom and underſtanding, and the Lord, the giver of it, being pleaſed to viſit him in his early days, made choice of him, and by the ſanctification of his holy Spirit, fitted and prepared him for his work and ſervice, whereunto he was called. And although he did not often appear as a miniſter, yet in thoſe meetings ſet apart for the affairs

affairs of truth, he often appeared in great wiſdom, having an extraordinary talent given of the Lord for that work, more than many other brethren; and faithful he was in waiting for inſtruction from God, to improve the ſame to his glory, and the churches advantage; for nothing was more deſirable to him, than to be employed in the Lord's ſervice: ſo it pleaſed the Almighty to furniſh him with underſtanding and ſtrength, faithfully to do his day's work. And now he hath taken him to himſelf, where his ſoul is at reſt; and although our loſs be his gain, therein I with many more are greatly comforted, for I can truly ſay, I loved him in the truth, from the firſt of my acquaintance with him, and ſo it remained to the end of his courſe, being near forty years ſince we knew each other: and whenever we converſed together, our diſcourſe was chiefly concerning heavenly things, and the affairs of the church; and I always thought my time well ſpent with him, although opportunity would not ſerve for ſo much of it as I deſired, had it been the will of God.

And this I can ſay, according to my obſervation, he was a man true to his friend, and deliberate in the choice of his acquaintance, to whom he ſhewed real love and ſincerity of heart. And he was one of a ſteady and ſound judgment, as to the things of God; often deſiring, that thoſe who came amongſt us, eſpecially children of believing parents, might not ſettle down only in a form of godlineſs, without the

power

power, (at which door the apoſtacy entered) but that they might be raiſed up to walk in that, wherein the ſaints fellowſhip doth ſtand, which is the light of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, enlightening every man that cometh into the world: and then the ancient teſtimony of truth will be more and more raiſed up in their hearts, and they being preſerved of the Lord in it, it will more be maintained in its ſeveral branches, as in former days. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord, who hath a people in theſe latter ages of the world, to whom he hath given power to ſtand for his truth, whilſt on earth, and to be tender of the honour of his name; of the number of whom this our deceaſed friend and brother was; who, although dead, yet his memory liveth, and will be preſerved amongſt the righteous in generations yet to come.

RICHARD VIVERS.

Banbury,
30th of the 11th month, 1714.

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THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF THOMAS ELLWOOD.

ALTHOUGH my ſtation not being ſo eminent either in the church of Chriſt, or in the world, as others who have moved in higher orbs, may not afford ſuch conſiderable remarks as theirs; yet, inaſmuch as in the courſe of my travels through this vale of tears, I have paſſed through various, and ſome uncommon exerciſes, which the Lord hath been graciouſly pleaſed to ſupport me under, and conduct me through; I hold it a matter excuſeable at leaſt, if not commendable, to give the world ſome little account of my life, that in recounting the many deliverances and preſervations, which the Lord hath vouchſafed

vouchſafed to work for me, both I, by a grateful acknowledgment thereof, and return of thankſgivings unto him therefor, may in ſome meaſure ſet forth his abundant goodneſs to me; and others, whoſe lot it may be to tread the ſame path, and fall into the ſame or like exerciſes, may be encouraged to perſevere in the way of holineſs, and, with full aſſurance of mind, to truſt in the Lord, whatſoever trials may befall them.

To begin therefore with mine own beginning, I was born in the year of our Lord 1639, about the beginning of the eighth month, (ſo far as I have been able to inform myſelf) for the pariſh regiſter, which relates to the time (not of birth, but) of baptiſm, as they call it, is not to be relied on.

The place of my birth was a little country town called Crowell, ſituate in the upper ſide of Oxfordſhire, three miles eaſtward from Thame, the neareſt market town.

My father's name was Walter Ellwood, and my mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Potman, both well deſcended, but of declining families. So that what my father poſſeſſed (which was a pretty eſtate in lands, and more as I have heard in monies) he received, as he had done his name Walter, from his grandfather Walter Gray, whoſe daughter and only child was his mother.

In my very infancy, when I was but about two years old, I was carried to London. For the civil

war

war between King and Parliament breaking then forth, my father, who favoured the Parliament ſide, though he took not arms, not holding himſelf ſafe at his country habitation, which lay too near ſome garriſons of the King's, betook himſelf to London, that city then holding for the Parliament.

There was I bred up, though not without much difficulty, the city air not agreeing with my tender conſtitution, and there continued until Oxford was ſurrendered, and the war in appearance ended.

In this time my parents contracted an acquaintance and intimate friendſhip with the Lady Springett, who being then the widow of Sir William Springett, who died in the Parliament ſervice, was afterwards the wife of Iſaac Penington, eldeſt ſon of Alderman Penington, of London. And this friendſhip devolving from the parents to the children, I became an early and particular playfellow to her daughter Gulielma; being admitted, as ſuch, to ride with her in her little coach, drawn by her footman about Lincoln's-inn-fields.

I mention this in this place, becauſe the continuation of that acquaintance and friendſhip having been an occaſional means of my being afterwards brought to the knowledge of the bleſſed TRUTH, I ſhall have frequent cauſe, in the courſe of the following diſcourſe, to make honourable mention of that family, to which I am under ſo many and great obligations.

Soon after the ſurrender of Oxford, my father returned to his eſtate at Crowell; which by that time

he might have need enough to look after, having ſpent, I ſuppoſe, the greateſt part of the monies which had been left him by his grandfather, in maintaining himſelf and his family at an high rate in London.

My elder brother, (for I had one brother and two ſiſters, all elder than myſelf) was, while we lived in London, boarded at a private ſchool, in the houſe of one Francis Atkinſon, at a place called Hadley, near Barnet, in Hertfordſhire, where he had made ſome good proficiency in the Latin and French tongues. But after we had left the city, and were re-ſettled in the country, he was taken from that private ſchool, and ſent to the free-ſchool at Thame in Oxfordſhire.

Thither alſo was I ſent, as ſoon as my tender age would permit; for I was indeed but young when I went, and yet ſeemed younger than I was, by reaſon of my low and little ſtature. For it was held, for ſome years, a doubtful point, whether I ſhould not have proved a dwarf. But after I was arrived to the fifteenth year of my age, or thereabouts, I began to ſhoot up, and gave not up growing till I had attained the middle ſize and ſtature of men.

At this ſchool, which at that time was in good reputation, I profited apace, having then a natural propenſity to learning; ſo that at the firſt reading over of my leſſon, I commonly made myſelf maſter of it: and yet, which is ſtrange to think of, few boys in the ſchool wore out more birch than I. For though I was never, that I remember, whipped upon the ſcore

of

of not having my leſſon ready, or of not ſaying it well, yet being a little buſy boy, full of ſpirit, of a working head and active hand, I could not eaſily conform myſelf to the grave and ſober rules, and, as I then thought, ſevere orders of the ſchool; but was often playing one waggiſh prank or other among my fellow-ſcholars, which ſubjected me to correction, ſo that I have come under the diſcipline of the rod twice in a forenoon; which yet brake no bones.

Had I been continued at this ſchool, and in due time preferred to an higher, I might in likelihood have been a ſcholar, for I was obſerved to have a genius apt to learn. But my father having, ſo ſoon as the republican government began to ſettle, accepted the office of a juſtice of the peace (which was no way beneficial, but merely honorary, and every way expenſive) and put himſelf into a port and courſe of living agreeable thereunto; and having alſo removed my brother from Thame ſchool to Merton College in Oxford, and entered him there in the higheſt and moſt chargeable condition of a Fellow-Commoner, he found it needful to retrench his expenſes elſewhere, the hurt of which fell upon me. For he thereupon took me from ſchool, to ſave the charge of maintaining me there; which was ſomewhat like plucking green fruit from the tree, and laying it by before it was come to its due ripeneſs, which will thenceforth ſhrink and wither, and looſe that little juice and reliſh which it began to have.

Even ſo it fared with me. For being taken home when I was but young, and before I was well ſettled in my ſtudies, (though I had made a good progreſs in the Latin tongue, and was entered in the Greek) being left too much to myſelf, to ply or play with my books, or without them, as I pleaſed, I ſoon ſhook hands with my books, by ſhaking my books out of my hands, and laying them, by degrees, quite aſide, and addicted myſelf to ſuch youthful ſports and pleaſures as the place afforded, and my condition could reach unto.

By this means, in a little time, I began to loſe that little learning I had acquired at ſchool; and, by a continued diſuſe of my books, became at length ſo utterly a ſtranger to learning, that I could not have read, far leſs have underſtood, a ſentence in Latin: which I was ſo ſenſible of, that I warily avoided reading to others, even in an Engliſh book, leſt, if I ſhould meet with a Latin word, I ſhould ſhame myſelf by miſpronouncing it.

Thus I went on, taking my ſwing in ſuch vain courſes as were accounted harmleſs recreations, entertaining my companions and familiar acquaintance, with pleaſant diſcourſes in our converſations, by the mere force of mother-wit and natural parts, without the help of ſchool cultivation; and was accounted good company too.

But I always ſorted myſelf with perſons of ingenuity, temperance, and ſobriety; for I loathed ſcurrilities

lities in converſation, and had a natural averſion to immoderate drinking. So that in the time of my greateſt vanity, I was preſerved from prophaneneſs, and the groſſer evils of the world, which rendered me acceptable to perſons of the beſt note in that country then. I often waited on the lord Wenman, at his houſe, Thame-park, about two miles from Crowell, where I lived; to whoſe favour I held myſelf intitled in a two-fold reſpect, both as my mother was nearly related to his lady, and as he had been pleaſed to beſtow his name upon me, when he made large promiſes for me at the font. He was a perſon of great honour and virtue, and always gave me a kind reception at his table, how often ſoever I came. And I have cauſe to think, I ſhould have received from this lord ſome advantageous preferment in this world, as ſoon as he had found me capable of it (though betwixt him and my father there was not then ſo good an underſtanding as might have been wiſhed) had I not been, in a little time after, called into the ſervice of the beſt and higheſt Lord; and thereby loſt the favour of all my friends, relations, and acquaintance of this world. To the account of which moſt happy exchange I haſten, and therefore willingly paſs over many particularities of my youthful life. Yet one paſſage I am willing to mention, for the effect it had upon me afterwards, which was thus:

My father being then in the commiſſion of the peace, and going to a petty ſeſſions at Watlington, I

waited on him thither. And when we came near the town, the coachman ſeeing a nearer and eaſier way (than the common road) through a corn-field, and that it was wide enough for the wheels to run, without endamaging the corn, turned down there: which being obſerved by an huſbandman, who was at plow not far off, he ran to us, and ſtopping the coach, poured forth a mouthful of complaints, in none of the beſt language, for driving over the corn. My father mildly anſwered him, 'That if there was an offence committed, he 'muſt rather impute it to his ſervant, than himſelf, 'ſince he neither directed him to drive that way, nor 'knew which way he drove.' Yet added, 'That he 'was going to ſuch an inn at the town, whither if he 'came, he would make him full ſatisfaction for what-'ſoever damage he had ſuſtained thereby.' And ſo on we went, the man venting his diſcontent, as he went back, in angry accents. At the town, upon inquiry, we underſtood that it was a way often uſed, and without damage, being broad enough; but that it was not the common road, which yet lay not far from it, and was alſo good enough; wherefore my father bid his man drive home that way.

It was late in the evening when we returned, and very dark; and this quarrelſome man, who had troubled himſelf and us in the morning, having gotten another luſty fellow like himſelf to aſſiſt him, way-laid us in the night, expecting we would return the ſame way we came. But when they found we did not, but took

took the common way, they, angry that they were diſappointed, and loth to loſe their purpoſe, (which was to put an abuſe upon us) coaſted over to us in the dark, and laying hold on the horſes bridles, ſtopped them from going on. My father aſking his man what the reaſon was that he went not on, was anſwered, 'That there were two men at the horſes heads, who 'held them back, and would not ſuffer them to go 'forward.' Whereupon my father opening the boot, ſtepped out, and I followed cloſe at his heels. Going up to the place where the men ſtood, he demanded of them the reaſon of this aſſault. They ſaid, 'We were 'upon the corn.' We knew, by the routs, we were not on the corn, but in the common way, and told them ſo: but they told us, 'They were reſolved they 'would not let us go on any farther, but would make 'us go back again.' My father endeavoured, by gentle reaſoning, to perſuade them to forbear, and not run themſelves farther into the danger of the law, which they were run too far into already; but they rather derided him for it. Seeing therefore fair means would not work upon them, he ſpake more roughly to them, charging them to deliver their clubs (for each of them had a great club in his hand, ſomewhat like thoſe which are called quarter-ſtaves): they thereupon, laughing, told him, 'They did not bring them thither 'for that end.' Thereupon my father, turning his head to me, ſaid, 'Tom, diſarm them.'

I ſtood ready at his elbow, waiting only for the word of command. For being naturally of a bold ſpirit, full then of youthful heat, and that too heightened by the ſenſe I had, not only of the abuſe, but inſolent behaviour of thoſe rude fellows, my blood began to boil, and my fingers itched, as the ſaying is, to be dealing with them. Wherefore ſtepping boldly forward to lay hold on the ſtaff of him that was neareſt to me, I ſaid, 'Sirrah, deliver your weapon.' He thereupon raiſed his club, which was big enough to have knocked down an ox, intending, no doubt, to have knocked me down with it, as probably he would have done, had I not, in the twinkling of an eye, whipped out my rapier, and made a paſs upon him. I could not have failed running of him through up to the hilt, had he ſtood his ground, but the ſudden and unexpected ſight of my bright blade, gliſtering in the dark night, did ſo amaze and terrify the man, that ſlipping aſide, he avoided my thruſt; and letting his ſtaff ſink, betook himſelf to his heels for ſafety, which his companion ſeeing, fled alſo. I followed the former as faſt as I could, but *Timor addidit Alas*, fear gave him wings, and made him ſwiftly fly; ſo that although I was accounted very nimble, yet the farther we ran the more ground he gained on me, ſo that I could not overtake him, which made me think he took ſhelter under ſome buſh, which he knew where to find, though I did not. Meanwhile the coachman who had ſufficiently the outſide

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of a man, excuſed himſelf from intermedling, under pretence that he durſt not leave his horſes, and ſo left me to ſhift for myſelf. And I was gone ſo far beyond my knowledge, that I underſtood not which way I was to go, till by hollowing, and being hollowed to again, I was directed where to find my company.

We had eaſy means to have found out who theſe men were, (the principal of them having been in the day time at the inn, and both quarrelled with the coachman, and threatened to be even with him when he went back,) but ſince they came off no better in their attempt, my father thought it better not to know them, than to oblige himſelf to a proſecution of them.

At that time, and for a good while after, I had no regret upon my mind for what I had done, and deſigned to have done, in this caſe, but went on, in a ſort of bravery, reſolving to kill, if I could, any man that ſhould make the like attempt, or put any affront upon us; and for that reaſon ſeldom went afterwards upon thoſe publick ſervices without a loaded piſtol in my pocket. But when it pleaſed the Lord, in his infinite goodneſs, to call me out of the ſpirit and ways of the world, and give me the knowledge of his ſaving truth, whereby the actions of my fore-paſt life were ſet in order before me, a ſort of horror ſeized on me, when I conſidered how near I had been to the ſtaining of my hands with human blood. And whenſoever afterwards I went that way, and indeed as often

ſince as the matter has come into my remembrance, my ſoul has bleſſed the Lord for my deliverance, and thankſgivings and praiſes have ariſen in my heart (as now, at the relating of it, they do) to him who preſerved and withheld me from ſhedding man's blood. Which is the reaſon for which I have given this account of that action, that others may be warned by it.

About this time my dear and honoured mother, who was indeed a woman of ſingular worth and virtue, departed this life, having a little before heard of the death of her eldeſt ſon, who (falling under the diſpleaſure of my father, for refuſing to reſign his intereſt in an eſtate which my father ſold, and thereupon deſiring that he might have leave to travel, in hopes that time and abſence might work a reconciliation) went into Ireland with a perſon powerful there in thoſe times, by whoſe means he was quickly preferred to a place of truſt and profit, but lived not long to enjoy it.

I mentioned before, that during my father's abode in London, in the time of the civil wars, he contracted a friendſhip with the Lady Springett, then a widow, and afterwards married to Iſaac Penington, Eſq. to continue which, he ſometimes viſited them at their country lodgings, as at Datchet, and at Cauſham Lodge near Reading. And having heard that they were come to live upon their own eſtate at Chalfont, in Buckinghamſhire, about fifteen miles from Crowell, he

he went one day to viſit them there, and to return at night, taking me with him.

But very much ſurprized we were, when being come thither, we firſt heard, then found, they were become Quakers; a people we had no knowledge of, and a name we had, till then, ſcarce heard of.

So great a change, from a free, debonair, and courtly ſort of behaviour, which we formerly had found them in, to ſo ſtrict a gravity as they now received us with, did not a little amuſe us, and diſappoint our expectation of ſuch a pleaſant viſit as we uſed to have, and had now promiſed ourſelves. Nor could my father have any opportunity, by a private conference with them, to underſtand the ground or occaſion of this change, there being ſome other ſtrangers with them, (related to Iſaac Penington) who came that morning from London to viſit them alſo.

For my part I ſought, and at length found means to caſt myſelf into the company of the daughter, whom I found gathering ſome flowers in the garden, attended by her maid, who was alſo a Quaker. But when I addreſſed myſelf to her, after my accuſtomed manner, with intention to engage her in ſome diſcourſe, which might introduce converſation on the foot of our former acquaintance; though ſhe treated me with a courteous mien, yet, as young as ſhe was, the gravity of her look and behaviour ſtruck ſuch an awe upon me, that I found myſelf not ſo much maſter of myſelf as to purſue any further converſe with her. Wherefore aſking pardon for my boldneſs, in having intruded

myſelf into her private walks, I withdrew, not without ſome diſorder (as I thought at leaſt) of mind.

We ſtaid dinner, which was very handſome, and lacked nothing to recommend it to me, but the want of mirth and pleaſant diſcourſe, which we could neither have with them, nor by reaſon of them, with one another amongſt ourſelves; the weightineſs that was upon their ſpirits and countenances keeping down the lightneſs that would have been up in us. We ſtaid, notwithſtanding, till the reſt of the company took leave of them, and then we alſo, doing the ſame, returned, not greatly ſatisfied with our journey, nor knowing what in particular to find fault with.

Yet this good effect that viſit had upon my father, who was then in the commiſſion for the peace, that it diſpoſed him to a more favourable opinion of, and carriage towards thoſe people when they came in his way, as not long after one of them did. For a young man, who lived in Buckinghamſhire, came on a firſt-day to the church (ſo called) at a town called Chinner, a mile from Crowell, having, it ſeems, a preſſure on his mind to ſay ſomething to the miniſter of that pariſh. He being an acquaintance of mine, drew me ſometimes to hear him, as it did then. The young man ſtood in the iſle before the pulpit all the time of the ſermon, not ſpeaking a word till the ſermon and prayer after it was ended, and then ſpake a few words to the prieſt: of which all that I could hear was,

'That

'That the prayer of the wicked is abomination to 'the Lord, and that God heareth not ſinners.'

Somewhat more, I think, he did ſay, which I could not diſtinctly hear for the noiſe the people made; and more probably he would have ſaid, had he not been interrupted by the officers, who took him into cuſtody, and led him out in order to carry him before my father.

When I underſtood that, I haſtened home, that I might give my father a fair account of the matter before they came. I told him the young man behaved himſelf quietly and peaceably, ſpake not a word till the miniſter had quite done his ſervice, and that what he then ſpake was but ſhort, and was delivered without paſſion or ill language. This I knew would furniſh my father with a fair ground, whereon to diſcharge the man if he would.

And accordingly when they came, and made an high complaint againſt the man (who ſaid little for himſelf) my father having examined the officers who brought him, what the words that he ſpake were, (which they did not well agree in) and at what time he ſpake them; (which they all agreed to be after the miniſter had done) and then, whether he gave the miniſter any reviling language, or endeavoured to raiſe a tumult among the people; (which they could not charge him with;) not finding that he had broken the law, he counſelled the young man to be careful

that

that he did not make or occaſion any publick diſturbances, and ſo diſmiſſed him: which I was glad of.

Some time after this, my father having gotten ſome further account of the people called Quakers, and being deſirous to be informed concerning their principles, made another viſit to Iſaac Penington and his wife, at their houſe called the Grange, in Peter's Chalfont, and took both my ſiſters and me with him.

It was in the tenth month, in the year 1659, that we went thither, where we found a very kind reception, and tarried ſome days; one day at leaſt the longer, for that, while we were there, a meeting was appointed at a place about a mile from thence, to which we were invited to go, and willingly went.

It was held in a farm houſe called the Grove, which having formerly been a gentleman's ſeat, had a very large hall, and that well filled.

To this meeting came Edward Burrough, beſides other preachers, as Thomas Curtis and James Naylor, but none ſpake there at that time but Edward Burrough. Next to whom (as it were under him) it was my lot to ſit on a ſtool by the ſide of a long table on which he ſat, and I drank in his words with deſire; for they not only anſwered my underſtanding, but warmed my heart with a certain heat, which I had not till then felt from the miniſtry of any man.

When the meeting was ended, our friends took us home with them again; and after ſupper, the evenings being

being long, the ſervants of the family, (who were Quakers, were called in, and we all ſat down in ſilence. But long we had not ſo ſat before Edward Burrough began to ſpeak among us. And although he ſpake not long, yet what he ſaid did touch, as I ſuppoſe, my father's (religious) copyhold, as the phraſe is. And he having been from his youth a profeſſor, (though not joined in that which is called cloſe communion with any one ſort) and valuing himſelf upon the knowledge he eſteemed himſelf to have, in the various notions of each profeſſion, thought he had now a fair opportunity to diſplay his knowledge, and thereupon began to make objections againſt what had been delivered.

The ſubject of the diſcourſe was, 'The univerſal 'free grace of God to all mankind.' To which he oppoſed the Calviniſtical tenet of particular and perſonal predeſtination. In defence of which indefenſible notion, he found himſelf more at a loſs than he expected. Edward Burrough ſaid not much to him upon it, though what he ſaid was cloſe and cogent. But James Naylor interpoſing, handled the ſubject with ſo much perſpicuity and clear demonſtration, that his reaſoning ſeemed to be irreſiſtible; and ſo I ſuppoſe my father found it, which made him willing to drop the diſcourſe.

As for Edward Burrough he was a briſk young man, of a ready tongue, and might have been, for ought I then knew, a ſcholar, which made me the

leſs

leſs to admire his way of reaſoning. But what dropt from James Naylor had the greater force upon me, becauſe he looked but like a plain ſimple countryman, having the appearance of an huſbandman or a ſhepherd.

As my father was not able to maintain the argument on his ſide, ſo neither did they ſeem willing to drive it on to an extremity on their ſide. But treating him in a ſoft and gentle manner, did, after a while, let fall the diſcourſe, and then we withdrew to our reſpective chambers.

The next morning we prepared to return home, (that is, my father, my younger ſiſter, and myſelf; for my elder ſiſter was gone before by the ſtage coach to London) and when, having taken our leaves of our friends, we went forth; they, with Edward Burrough, accompanying us to the gate, he there directed his ſpeech in a few words to each of us ſeverally, according to the ſenſe he had of our ſeveral conditions. And when we were gone off, and they gone in again, they aſking him what he thought of us, he anſwered them, (as they afterwards told me) to this effect: 'As for the old man, he is ſettled on 'his lees, and the young woman is light and airy; but 'the young man is reached, and may do well if he 'does not loſe it.' And ſurely that which he ſaid to me, or rather that ſpirit in which he ſpake it, took ſuch faſt hold on me, that I felt ſadneſs and trouble come over me, though I did not diſtinctly underſtand what

I was

I was troubled for. I knew not what I ailed, but I knew I ailed ſomething more than ordinary, and my heart was very heavy.

I found it was not ſo with my father and ſiſter; for as I rode after the coach, I could hear them talk pleaſantly one to the other, but they could not diſcern how it was with me, becauſe I, riding on horſeback, kept much out of ſight.

By that time we got home it was night. And the next day, being the firſt day of the week, I went in the afternoon to hear the miniſter of Chinner; and this was the laſt time I ever went to hear any of that function. After the ſermon I went with him to his houſe, and in a freedom of diſcourſe (which, from a certain intimacy that was between us, I commonly uſed with him) told him where I had been, what company I had met with there, and what obſervations I had made to myſelf thereupon. He ſeemed to underſtand as little of them as I had done before, and civilly abſtained from caſting any unhandſome reflections on them.

I had a deſire to go to another meeting of the Quakers, and bid my father's man inquire if there was any in the country thereabouts. He thereupon told me he had heard at Iſaac Penington's that there was to be a meeting at High Wycombe on Thurſday next.

Thither therefore I went, though it was ſeven miles from me. And that I might be rather thought

to

to go out a courſing than to a meeting, I let my greyhound run by my horſe-ſide.

When I came there, and had ſet up my horſe at an inn, I was at a loſs how to find the houſe where the meeting was to be. I knew it not, and was aſhamed to aſk after it. Wherefore having ordered the hoſtler to take care of my dog, I went into the ſtreet and ſtood at the inn gate, muſing with myſelf what courſe to take. But I had not ſtood long ere I ſaw an horſeman riding along the ſtreet, whom I remembered I had ſeen before at Iſaac Penington's, and he put up his horſe at the ſame inn. Him therefore I reſolved to follow, ſuppoſing he was going to the meeting, as indeed he was.

Being come to the houſe, which proved to be John Raunce's, I ſaw the people ſitting together in an outer room; wherefore I ſtepped in and ſat down on the firſt void ſeat, the end of a bench juſt within the door, having my ſword by my ſide, and black cloaths on, which drew ſome eyes upon me. It was not long ere one ſtood up and ſpake, whom I was afterwards well acquainted with, his name was Samuel Thornton, and what he ſpake was very ſuitable, and of good ſervice to me, for it reached home as if it had been directed to me.

As ſoon as ever the meeting was ended, and the people began to riſe, I being next the door ſtepped out quickly, and haſtening to my inn, took horſe immediately homewards, and (ſo far as I remember) my having

having been gone was not taken notice of by my father.

This latter meeting was like the clinching of a nail, confirming and faſtening in my mind thoſe good principles which had ſunk into me at the former. My underſtanding began to open, and I felt ſome ſtirrings in my breaſt, tending to the work of a new creation in me. The general trouble and confuſion of mind, which had for ſome days lain heavy upon me, and preſſed me down, without a diſtinct diſcovery of the particular cauſe for which it came, began now to wear off, and ſome glimmerings of light began to break forth in me, which let me ſee my inward ſtate and condition towards God. The light, which before had ſhone in my darkneſs, and the darkneſs could not comprehend it, began now to ſhine out of darkneſs, and in ſome meaſure diſcovered to me, what it was that had before clouded me, and brought that ſadneſs and trouble upon me. And now I ſaw, that although I had been, in a great degree, preſerved from the common immoralities and groſs pollutions of the world, yet the ſpirit of the world had hitherto ruled in me, and led me into pride, flattery, vanity, and ſuperfluity, all which was naught. I found there were many plants growing in me, which were not of the heavenly Father's planting, and that all theſe, of whatever ſort or kind they were, or how ſpecious ſoever they might appear, muſt be plucked up.

Now

Now was all my former life ripped up, and my ſins, by degrees, were ſet in order before me. And though they looked not with ſo black a hue and ſo deep a dye as thoſe of the lewdeſt ſort of people did, yet I found that all ſin (even that which had the faireſt or fineſt ſhew, as well as that which was more courſe and foul) brought guilt, and with and for guilt, condemnation on the ſoul that ſinned. This I felt, and was greatly bowed down under the ſenſe thereof.

Now alſo did I receive a new law, (an inward law ſuperadded to the outward) the law of the ſpirit of life in Chriſt Jeſus, which wrought in me againſt all evil, not only in deed, and in word, but even in thought alſo; ſo that every thing was brought to judgment, and judgment paſſed upon all. So that I could not any longer go on in my former ways and courſe of life, for when I did, judgment took hold upon me for it.

Thus the Lord was graciouſly pleaſed to deal with me, in ſomewhat like manner as he had dealt with his people Iſrael of old, (when they had tranſgreſſed his righteous law) whom, by his prophet he called back, required to put away the evil of their doings, bidding them firſt ceaſe to do evil, then learn to do well, before he would admit them to reaſon with him, and before he would impart to them the effects of his free mercy. Iſaiah i. 16, 17.

I was now required by this inward and ſpiritual law (the law of the ſpirit of life in Chriſt Jeſus) to put away

away the evil of my doings, and to ceaſe to do evil. And what, in particulars, the evil was which I was required to put away, and to ceaſe from, that meaſure of the divine light, which was now manifeſted in me, diſcovered to me; and what the light made manifeſt to be evil, judgment paſſed upon.

So that here began to be a way caſt up before me, for me to walk in; a direct and plain way; ſo plain that a wayfaring man, how weak and ſimple ſoever, (though a fool to the wiſdom, and in the judgment of the world) could not err, while he continued to walk in it; the error coming in by his going out of it. And this way with reſpect to me, I ſaw was that meaſure of divine light which was manifeſted in me, by which the evil of my doings which I was to put away and to ceaſe from, was diſcovered to me.

By this divine light then I ſaw, that though I had not the evil of the common uncleanneſs, debauchery, profaneneſs, and pollutions of the world to put away, becauſe I had, through the great goodneſs of GOD, and a civil education, been preſerved out of thoſe groſſer evils; yet I had many other evils to put away, and to ceaſe from; ſome of which were not by the world (which lies in wickedneſs, 1 John v. 19) accounted evils; but by the light of Chriſt were made manifeſt to me to be evils, and as ſuch condemned in me.

As particularly, thoſe fruits and effects of pride, that diſcover themſelves in the vanity and ſuperfluity of

of apparel; which I, as far as my ability would extend to, took, alas! too much delight in. This evil of my doings I was required to put away and ceaſe from; and judgment lay upon me till I did ſo. Wherefore, in obedience to the inward law, (which agreed with the outward, 1 Tim. ii. 9. 1 Pet. iii. 3. 1 Tim. vi. 8. Jam. i. 21.) I took off from my apparel thoſe unneceſſary trimmings of lace, ribbands, and uſeleſs buttons, which had no real ſervice, but were ſet on only for that which was by miſtake called ornament; and I ceaſed to wear rings.

Again. The giving of flattering titles to men, between whom and me there was not any relation, to which ſuch titles could be pretended to belong. This was an evil I had been much addicted to, and was accounted a ready artiſt in; therefore this evil alſo was I required to put away and ceaſe from. So that thenceforward I durſt not ſay, Sir, Maſter, My Lord, Madam, (or My Dame) or ſay Your Servant, to any one to whom I did not ſtand in the real relation of a ſervant, which I had never done to any.

Again. Reſpect of perſons, in uncovering the head, and bowing the knee or body in ſalutations, was a practice I had been much in the uſe of. And this being one of the vain cuſtoms of the world, introduced by the ſpirit of the world, inſtead of the true honour, which this is a falſe repreſentation of, and uſed in deceit, as a token of reſpect, by perſons one to another, who bear no real reſpect one to another. And beſides,

beſides, this being a type and proper emblem of that divine honour which all ought to pay to Almighty God, and which all, of all ſorts, who take upon them the Chriſtian name, appear in when they offer their prayers to him, and therefore ſhould not be given to men. I found this to be one of thoſe evils which I had been too long doing, therefore I was now required to put it away, and ceaſe from it.

Again. The corrupt and unſound form of ſpeaking in the plural number to a ſingle perſon, You to one, inſtead of Thou, contrary to the pure, plain, and ſingle language of truth, Thou to one, and You to more than one, which had always been uſed by God to men, and men to God, as well as one to another, from the oldeſt record of time, till corrupt men, for corrupt ends, in later and corrupt times, to flatter, fawn, and work upon the corrupt nature in men, brought in that falſe and ſenſeleſs way of ſpeaking You to one; which hath ſince corrupted the modern languages, and hath greatly debaſed the ſpirits, and depraved the manners of men. This evil cuſtom I had been as forward in as others, and this I was now called out of, and required to ceaſe from.

Theſe, and many more evil cuſtoms, which had ſprung up in the night of darkneſs, and general apoſtacy from the Truth, and true Religion, were now by the inſhining of this pure ray of divine light in my conſcience, gradually diſcovered to me to be what

what I ought to ceaſe from, ſhun, and ſtand a witneſs againſt.

But ſo ſubtilly, and withal ſo powerfully did the enemy work upon the weak part in me, as to perſuade me that in theſe things I ought to make a difference between my father and all other men; and that therefore, though I did diſuſe theſe tokens of reſpect to others, yet I ought ſtill to uſe them towards him, as he was my father. And ſo far did this wile of his prevail upon me, through a fear leſt I ſhould do amiſs, in withdrawing any ſort of reſpect or honour from my father, which was due unto him, that being thereby beguiled, I continued for a while to demean myſelf in the ſame manner towards him, with reſpect both to language and geſture, as I had always done before. And ſo long as I did ſo (ſtanding bare before him, and giving him the accuſtomed language) he did not expreſs, whatever he thought, any diſlike of me.

But as to myſelf, and the work begun in me, I found it was not enough for me to ceaſe to do evil; though that was a good and a great ſtep. I had another leſſon before me, which was to learn to do well; which I could by no means do, till I had given up, with full purpoſe of mind, to ceaſe from doing evil. And when I had done that, the enemy took advantage of my weakneſs to miſlead me again.

For whereas I ought to have waited in the light, for direction and guidance into and in the way of well-doing, and not to have moved till the divine Spirit,

Spirit, (a manifeſtation of which the Lord has been pleaſed to give unto me, for me to profit with, or by) the enemy transforming himſelf into the appearance of an angel of light, offered himſelf in that appearance, to be my guide and leader into the performance of religious exerciſes. And I, not then knowing the wiles of Satan, and being eager to be doing ſome acceptable ſervice to God, too readily yielded myſelf to the conduct of my enemy, inſtead of my friend.

He thereupon humouring the warmth and zeal of my ſpirit, put me upon religious performances in my own will, in my own time, and in my own ſtrength; which in themſelves were good, and would have been profitable unto me, and acceptable unto the Lord, if they had been performed in his will, in his time, and in the ability which he gives. But being wrought in the will of man, and at the prompting of the evil one, no wonder that it did me hurt inſtead of good.

I read abundantly in the Bible, and would ſet myſelf taſks in reading; enjoining myſelf to read ſo many chapters, ſometimes an whole book, or long epiſtle, at a time. And I thought that time well ſpent, though I was not much the wiſer for what I had read, reading it too curſorily, and without the true guide, the Holy Spirit, which alone could open the underſtanding, and give the true ſenſe of what was read.

I prayed often, and drew out my prayers to a great length; and appointed unto myſelf certain ſet times to pray at, and a certain number of prayers to ſay in

a day; we knew not, mean while, what true prayer was. Which ſtands not in words, though the words which are uttered in the movings of the Holy Spirit, are very available; but in the breathing of the ſoul to the heavenly Father, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, who maketh interceſſion ſometimes in words, and ſometimes with ſighs and groans only, which the Lord vouchſafes to hear and anſwer.

This will-worſhip, which all is that is performed in the will of man, and not in the movings of the Holy Spirit, was a great hurt to me, and hinderance of my ſpiritual growth in the way of truth. But my heavenly Father, who knew the ſincerity of my ſoul to him, and the hearty deſire I had to ſerve him, had compaſſion on me; and in due time was graciouſly pleaſed to illuminate my underſtanding farther, and to open in me an eye to diſcern the falſe ſpirit, and its way of working, from the true, and to reject the former, and cleave to the latter.

But though the enemy had by his ſubtilty gained ſuch advantages over me, yet I went on notwithſtanding, and firmly perſiſted in my godly reſolution of ceaſing from, and denying thoſe things which I was now convinced in my conſcience were evil. And on this account a great trial came quickly on me. For the general quarter ſeſſions for the peace coming on, my father, willing to excuſe himſelf from a dirty journey, commanded me to get up betimes, and go to Oxford, and deliver in the recognizances he had taken;

taken; and bring him an account what juſtices were on the bench, and what principal pleas were before them; which he knew I knew how to do, having often attended him on thoſe ſervices.

I, who knew how it ſtood with me better than he did, felt a weight come over me as ſoon as he had ſpoke the word. For I preſently ſaw it would bring a very great exerciſe upon me. But having never reſiſted his will in any thing that was lawful, as this was, I attempted not to make any excuſe, but ordering an horſe to be ready for me early in the morning, I went to bed, having great ſtrugglings in my breaſt.

For the enemy came in upon me like a flood, and ſet many difficulties before me, ſwelling them up to the higheſt pitch, by repreſenting them as mountains which I ſhould never be able to get over; and, alas! that faith which could remove ſuch mountains, and caſt them into the ſea, was but very ſmall and weak in me.

He caſt into my mind not only how I ſhould behave myſelf in court, and diſpatch the buſineſs I was ſent about, but how I ſhould demean myſelf towards my acquaintance, of which I had many in that city, with whom I was wont to be jolly; whereas now I could not put off my hat, nor bow to any of them, nor give them their honorary titles (as they are called) nor uſe the corrupt language of *You* to any one of them, but muſt keep to the plain and true language of *Thou* and *Thee*.

Much of this nature revolved in my mind, thrown in by the enemy to diſcourage and caſt me down. And I had none to have recourſe to for counſel or help, but to the Lord alone. To whom therefore I poured forth my ſupplications, with carneſt cries and breathings of ſoul, that HE, in whom all power was, would enable me to go through this great exerciſe, and keep me faithful to himſelf therein. And after ſome time, he was pleaſed to compoſe my mind to ſtillneſs, and I went to reſt.

Early next morning I got up, and found my ſpirit pretty calm and quiet, yet not without a fear upon me, leſt I ſhould ſlip and let fall the teſtimony which I had to bear. And as I rode, a frequent cry ran through me to the Lord, on this wiſe: O my God, preſerve me faithful, whatever befals me! ſuffer me not to be drawn into evil, how much ſcorn and contempt ſoever may be caſt upon me!

Thus was my ſpirit exerciſed on the way almoſt continually. And when I was come within a mile or two of the city, whom ſhould I meet upon the way coming from thence but Edward Burrough; I rode in a mountier-cap, (a dreſs more uſed then than now) and ſo did he; and becauſe the weather was exceeding ſharp, we both had drawn our caps down, to ſhelter our faces from the cold, and by that means neither of us knew the other, but paſſed by without taking notice one of the other, till a few days after meeting again, and obſerving each others dreſs, we recollected where

where we had ſo lately met. Then thought I with myſelf, O! how glad ſhould I have been of a word of encouragement and counſel from him, when I was under that weighty exerciſe of mind! but the Lord ſaw it was not good for me, that my reliance might be wholly upon him, and not on man.

When I had ſet up my horſe, I went directly to the hall where the ſeſſions were held, where I had been but a very little while before a knot of my old acquaintances eſpying me, came to me. One of theſe was a ſcholar in his gown, another a ſurgeon of that city (both my ſchool-fellows and fellow-boarders at Thame ſchool) and the third a country gentleman, with whom I had long been very familiar.

When they were come up to me, they all ſaluted me after the uſual manner, putting off their hats and bowing, and ſaying, 'Your humble ſervant, Sir,' expecting, no doubt, the like from me. But when they ſaw me ſtand ſtill, not moving my cap, nor bowing my knee in way of congee to them, they were amazed, and looked firſt one upon another, then upon me, and then one upon another again for a while, without a word ſpeaking.

At length the ſurgeon, a briſk young man, who ſtood neareſt to me, clapping his hand in a familiar way upon my ſhoulder, and ſmiling on me, ſaid, 'What, Tom, a Quaker!' To which I readily and cheerfully anſwered, 'Yes, a Quaker.' And as the words paſſed out of my mouth, I felt joy ſpring in my heart;

for I rejoiced that I had not been drawn out by them, into a compliance with them, and that I had ſtrength and boldneſs given me, to confeſs myſelf to be one of that deſpiſed people.

They ſtaid not long with me, nor ſaid any more, that I remember, to me; but looking ſomewhat confuſedly one upon another, after a while took their leave of me, going off in the ſame ceremonious manner as they came on.

After they were gone, I walked a while about the hall, and went up nearer to the court, to obſerve both what juſtices were on the bench, and what buſineſs they had before them. And I went in fear, not of what they could or would have done to me, if they ſhould have taken notice of me, but leſt I ſhould be ſurpriſed, and drawn unwarily into that which I was to keep out of.

It was not long before the court adjourned to go to dinner, and that time I took to go to the clerk of the peace at his houſe, whom I was well acquainted with. So ſoon as I came into the room where he was, he came and met me, and ſaluted me after his manner; for he had a great reſpect for my father, and a kind regard for me. And though he was at firſt ſomewhat ſtartled at my carriage and language, yet he treated me very civilly, without any reflection or ſhew of lightneſs. I delivered him the recognizances which my father had ſent, and having done the buſineſs I came

came upon, withdrew, and went to my inn to refreſh myſelf, and then to return home.

But when I was ready to take horſe, looking out into the ſtreet, I ſaw two or three juſtices ſtanding juſt in the way where I was to ride. This brought a freſh concern upon me. I knew if they ſaw me, they would know me; and I concluded, if they knew me, they would ſtop me to inquire after my father; and I doubted how I ſhould come off with them.

This doubting brought weakneſs on me, and that weakneſs led to contrivance, how I might avoid this trial. I knew the city pretty well, and remembered there was a back way, which though ſomewhat about, would bring me out of town, without paſſing by thoſe juſtices; yet loth I was to go that way. Wherefore I ſtaid a pretty time, in hopes they would have parted company, or removed to ſome other place out of my way. But when I had waited till I was uneaſy for loſing ſo much time, having entered into reaſonings with fleſh and blood, the weakneſs prevailed over me, and away I went the back way; which brought trouble and grief upon my ſpirit for having ſhunned the croſs.

But the Lord looked on me with a tender eye, and ſeeing my heart was right to him, and that what I had done was merely through weakneſs and fear of falling, and that I was ſenſible of my failing therein, and ſorry for it, he was graciouſly pleaſed to paſs it by, and ſpeak peace to me again. So that before I got home,

as when I went in the morning, my heart was full of breathing prayer to the Lord, that he would vouchſafe to be with me, and uphold and carry me through that day's exerciſe; ſo now at my return in the evening, my heart was full of thankful acknowledgments and praiſes unto him for his great goodneſs and favour to me, in having thus far preſerved and kept me from falling into any thing that might have brought diſhonour to his holy name, which I had now taken on me.

But notwithſtanding that it was thus with me, and that I found peace and acceptance with the Lord in ſome good degree, according to my obedience to the convictions I had received by his holy Spirit in me; yet was not the vail ſo done away, or fully rent, but that there ſtill remained a cloud upon my underſtanding, with reſpect to my carriage towards my father. And that notion which the enemy had brought into my mind, that I ought to put ſuch a difference between him and all others, as that, on the account of paternal relation, I ſhould ſtill deport myſelf towards him, both in geſture and language, as I had always heretofore done; did yet prevail with me. So that when I came home, I went to my father bareheaded, as I uſed to do, and gave him a particular account of the buſineſs he had given me in command, in ſuch manner, that he obſerving no alteration in my carriage towards him, found no cauſe to take offence at me.

I had

I had felt for ſome time before an earneſt deſire of mind to go again to Iſaac Penington's. And I began to queſtion whether, when my father ſhould come (as I concluded ere long he would) to underſtand I inclined to ſettle among the people called Quakers, he would permit me the command of his horſes, as before. Wherefore, in the morning when I went to Oxford, I gave direction to a ſervant of his, to go that day to a gentleman of my acquaintance, who I knew had a riding nag to put off either by ſale, or to be kept for his work, and deſired him, in my name, to ſend him to me; which he did, and I found him in the ſtable when I came home.

On this nag I deſigned to ride next day to Iſaac Penington's, and in order thereunto aroſe betimes and got myſelf ready for the journey: but becauſe I would pay all due reſpects to my father, and not go without his conſent, or knowledge at the leaſt, I ſent one up to him (for he was not yet ſtirring) to acquaint him, that I had a purpoſe to go to Iſaac Penington's, and deſired to know if he pleaſed to command me any ſervice to them. He ſent me word, he would ſpeak with me before I went, and would have me come up to him, which I did, and ſtood by his bed-ſide.

Then, in a mild and gentle tone, he ſaid, 'I underſtand you have a mind to go to Mr. Penington's.' I anſwered, 'I have ſo.' 'Why,' ſaid he, 'I wonder 'why you ſhould. You were there, you know, but 'a few days ago, and unleſs you had buſineſs with

'them, don't you think it will look odly?' I ſaid, 'I thought not.' 'I doubt,' ſaid he, 'You'll tire 'them with your company, and make them think 'they ſhall be troubled with you.' 'If,' replied I, 'I find any thing of that, I'll make the ſhorter ſtay.' 'But,' ſaid he, 'can you propoſe any ſort of buſineſs 'with them, more than a mere viſit?' 'Yes,' ſaid I, 'I propoſe to myſelf not only to ſee them, but to 'have ſome diſcourſe with them.' 'Why,' ſaid he, in a tone a little harſher, 'I hope you don't incline to 'be of their way.' 'Truly,' anſwered I, 'I like 'them and their way very well, ſo far as I yet under-'ſtand it; and I am willing to go to them, that I 'may underſtand it better.'

Thereupon he began to reckon up a beadroll of faults againſt the Quakers; telling me they were a rude unmannerly people, that would not give civil reſpect or honour to their ſuperiors, no not to magiſtrates; that they held many dangerous principles; that they were an immodeſt ſhameleſs people; and that one of them ſtripped himſelf ſtark ſtaked, and went in that unſeemly manner about the ſtreets, at fairs and on market days, in great towns.

To all the other charges I anſwered only, 'That 'perhaps they might be either miſreported or miſun-'derſtood, as the beſt of people had ſometimes been.' But to the laſt charge of going naked, a particular anſwer, by way of inſtance, was juſt then brought into my mind, and put into my mouth, which I had not

not thought of before, and that was 'the example of 'Iſaiah, who went naked among the people for a long 'time.' (Iſaiah xx. 4.) 'Aye,' ſaid my father, 'but 'you muſt conſider that he was a prophet of the Lord, 'and had an expreſs command from God to go ſo.' 'Yes, Sir,' replied I,' 'I do conſider that, but I con-'ſider alſo, that the Jews, among whom he lived, did 'not own him for a prophet, nor believe that he had 'ſuch a command from God.' 'And,' added I, 'How know we but that this Quaker may be a pro-'phet too, and might be commanded to do as he did, 'for ſome reaſon which we underſtand not?'

This put my father to a ſtand; ſo that letting fall his charges againſt the Quakers, he only ſaid, 'I 'would wiſh you not to go ſo ſoon, but take a little 'time to conſider of it; you may viſit Mr. Pening-'ton hereafter.' 'Nay, Sir,' replied I, pray don't 'hinder my going now, for I have ſo ſtrong a deſire 'to go, that I do not well know how to forbear.' And as I ſpake thoſe words, I withdrew gently to the chamber door, and then haſtening down ſtairs, went immediately to the ſtable, where finding my horſe ready bridled, I forthwith mounted, and went off, leſt I ſhould receive a countermand.

This diſcourſe with my father had caſt me ſomewhat back in my journey, and it being fifteen long miles thither, the ways bad, and my nag but ſmall, it was in the afternoon that I got thither. And underſtanding by the ſervant that took my horſe, that there was

then a meeting in the houſe, (as there was weekly on that day, which was the fourth day of the week, though I till then underſtood it not) I haſtened in, and knowing the rooms, went directly to the little parlour, where I found a few friends ſitting together in ſilence, and I ſat down among them well ſatisfied, though without words.

When the meeting was ended, and thoſe of the company who were ſtrangers withdrawn, I addreſſed myſelf to Iſaac Penington and his wife, who received me courteouſly; but not knowing what exerciſe I had been in, and yet was under, nor having heard any thing of me ſince I had been there before in another garb, were not forward at firſt to lay ſudden hands on me, which I obſerved, and did not diſlike. But as they came to ſee a change in me, not in habit only, but in geſture, ſpeech, and carriage, and which was more, in countenance alſo, (for the exerciſe I had paſſed through, and yet was under, had imprinted a viſible character of gravity upon my face,) they were exceeding kind and tender towards me.

There was then in the family a friend, whoſe name was Anne Curtis, the wife of Thomas Curtis of Reading, who was come upon a viſit to them, and particularly to ſee Mary Penington's daughter Guli, who had been ill of the ſmall-pox ſince I had been there before. Betwixt Mary Penington and this friend I obſerved ſome private diſcourſe and whiſperings, and I had an apprehenſion that it was upon ſomething that concerned

concerned me. Wherefore I took the freedom to aſk Mary Penington if my coming thither had occaſioned any inconvenience in the family; ſhe aſked me if I had had the ſmall-pox; I told her no. She then told me her daughter had newly had them, and though ſhe was well recovered of them, ſhe had not as yet been down amongſt them, but intended to have come down and ſat with them in the parlour that evening, yet would rather forbear till another time, than endanger me: and that that was the matter they had been diſcourſing of. I aſſured her, that I had always been, and then more eſpecially, was free from any apprehenſion of danger in that reſpect, and therefore intreated that her daughter might come down. And although they were ſomewhat unwilling to yield to it, in regard of me, yet my importunity prevailed, and after ſupper ſhe did come down and ſit with us; and though the marks of the diſtemper were freſh upon her, yet they made no impreſſion upon me, faith keeping out fear.

We ſpent much of the evening in retiredneſs of mind, our ſpirits being weightily gathered inward, ſo that not much diſcourſe paſſed among us, neither they to me, nor I to them offered any occaſion. Yet I had good ſatisfaction in that ſtillneſs, feeling my ſpirit drawn near to the Lord, and to them therein.

Before I went to bed, they let me know, that there was to be a meeting at Wycombe next day, and that ſome of the family would go to it. I was very glad

of

of it, for I greatly deſired to go to meetings, and this fell very aptly, it being in my way home. Next morning Iſaac Penington himſelf went, having Anne Curtis with him, and I accompanied them.

At Wycombe we met with Edward Burrough, who came from Oxford thither, that day that I, going thither, met him on the way; and having both our montier-caps on, we recollected that we had met, and paſſed by each other on the road unknown.

This was a monthly-meeting, conſiſting of friends chiefly, who gathered to it from ſeveral parts of the country thereabouts, ſo that it was pretty large, and was held in a fair room in Jeremiah Stevens's houſe; the room where I had been at a meeting before in John Raunce's houſe being too little to receive us.

A very good meeting was this in itſelf and to me. Edward Burrough's miniſtry came forth among us in life and power, and the aſſembly was covered therewith. I alſo, according to my ſmall capacity, had a ſhare therein: for I felt ſome of that divine power working my ſpirit into a great tenderneſs, and not only confirming me in the courſe I had already entered, and ſtrengthening me to go on therein, but rending alſo the vail ſomewhat further, and clearing my underſtanding in ſome other things which I had not ſeen before. For the Lord was pleaſed to make his diſcoveries to me by degrees, that the ſight of too great a work, and too many enemies to encounter with at once, might not diſcourage me, and make me faint.

When

When the meeting was ended, the friends of the town taking notice that I was the man that had been at their meeting the week before, whom they then did not know, ſome of them came and ſpake lovingly to me, and would have had me ſtaid with them, but Edward Burrough going home with Iſaac Penington, he invited me to go back with him, which I willingly conſented to. For the love I had more particularly to Edward Burrough, through whoſe miniſtry I had received the firſt awakening ſtroke, drew me to deſire his company, and ſo away we rode together.

But I was ſomewhat diſappointed of my expectation, for I hoped he would have given me both opportunity and encouragement to have opened myſelf to him, and to have poured forth my complaints, fears, doubts, and queſtionings into his boſom. But he, being ſenſible that I was truly reached, and that the witneſs of GOD was raiſed, and the work of GOD rightly begun in me, choſe to leave me to the guidance of the good Spirit in myſelf, (the Counſellor that could reſolve all doubts) that I might not have any dependance on man. Wherefore, although he was naturally of an open and free temper and carriage, and was afterwards always very familiar and affectionately kind to me, yet, at this time, he kept himſelf ſomewhat reſerved, and ſhewed only common kindneſs to me.

Next day we parted, he for London, I home, under a very great weight and exerciſe upon my ſpirit. For

I now

I now ſaw, in and by the farther openings of the DIVINE LIGHT in me, that the enemy, by his falſe reaſonings, had beguiled and miſled me, with reſpect to my carriage towards my father. For I now clearly ſaw, that the honour due to parents, did not conſiſt in uncovering the head, and bowing the body to them, but in a ready obedience to their lawful commands, and in performing all needful ſervices unto them. Wherefore, as I was greatly troubled for what I already had done in that caſe, though it was through ignorance, ſo I plainly felt I could no longer continue therein, without drawing on myſelf the guilt of wilful diſobedience, which I well knew would draw after it divine diſpleaſure and judgment.

Hereupon the enemy aſſaulted me afreſh, ſetting before me the danger I ſhould run myſelf into of provoking my father to uſe ſeverity towards me; and perhaps to the caſting me utterly off. But over this temptation the Lord, whom I cried unto, ſupported me, and gave me faith to believe, that he would bear me through whatever might befal me on that account. Wherefore I reſolved, in the ſtrength which he ſhould give me, to be faithful to his requirings, whatever might come on it.

Thus labouring under various exerciſes on the way, I at length got home, expecting I ſhould have but a rough reception from my father. But when I came home, I underſtood my father was from home. Wherefore I ſat down by the fire in the kitchen, keeping

keeping my mind retired to the Lord, with breathings of ſpirit to him, that I might be preſerved from falling.

After ſome time I heard the coach drive in, which put me into a little fear, and a ſort of ſhivering came over me. But by that time he was alighted and come in, I had pretty well recovered myſelf; and as ſoon as I ſaw him, I roſe up, and advanced a ſtep or two towards, with my head covered, and ſaid, 'Iſaac 'Penington and his wife remember their loves to 'thee.'

He made a ſtop to hear what I ſaid, and obſerving that I did not ſtand bare, and that I uſed the word *Thee* to him, he, with a ſtern countenance, and tone that ſpake high diſpleaſure, only ſaid, 'I ſhall 'talk with you, Sir, another time;' and ſo haſtening from me went into the parlour, and I ſaw him no more that night.

Though I foreſaw there was a ſtorm ariſing, the apprehenſion of which was uneaſy to me, yet the peace which I felt in my own breaſt, raiſed in me a return of thankſgivings to the Lord, for his gracious ſupporting hand, which had thus far carried me through this exerciſe; with humble cries in ſpirit to him, that he would vouchſafe to ſtand by me in it to the end, and uphold me, that I might not fall.

My ſpirit longed to be among friends, and to be at ſome meeting with them on the firſt-day, which now drew on, this being the ſixth-day night. Wherefore I purpoſed

I purpoſed to go to Oxford on the morrow, (which was the ſeventh day of the week) having heard there was a meeting there. Accordingly, having ordered my horſe to be made ready betimes, I got up in the morning, and made myſelf ready alſo. Yet before I would go, (that I might be as obſervant to my father as poſſibly I could) I deſired my ſiſter to go up to him in his chamber, and acquaint him, that I had a mind to go to Oxford, and deſired to know if he pleaſed to command me any ſervice there. He bid her tell me he would not have me go till he had ſpoken with me; and getting up immediately, he haſtened down to me before he was quite dreſſed.

As ſoon as he ſaw me ſtanding with my hat on, his paſſion tranſporting him, he fell upon me with both his fiſts; and having by that means ſomewhat vented his anger, he plucked off my hat, and threw it away. Then ſtepping haſtily out to the ſtable, and ſeeing my borrowed nag ſtand ready ſaddled and bridled, he aſked his man whence that horſe came; who telling him he fetched it from Mr. —— ſuch an one's, 'Then ride 'him preſently back,' ſaid my father, 'and tell Mr. '—— I deſire he will never lend my ſon an horſe 'again, unleſs he brings a note from me.'

The poor fellow, who loved me well, would fain have made excuſes and delays; but my father was poſitive in his command, and ſo urgent, that he would not let him ſtay ſo much as to take his breakfaſt, (though he had five miles to ride) nor would he himſelf

ſelf ſtir from the ſtable, till he had ſeen the man mounted and gone.

Then coming in, he went up into his chamber to make himſelf more fully ready, thinking he had me ſafe enough now my horſe was gone; for I took ſo much delight in riding, that I ſeldom went on foot.

But while he was dreſſing himſelf in his chamber, I (who underſtood what had been done) changing my boots for ſhoes, took another hat, and acquainting my ſiſter, who loved me very well, and whom I could confide in, whither I meant to go, went out privately, and walked away to Wycombe, having ſeven long miles thither, which yet ſeemed little and eaſy to me, from the deſire I had to be among friends.

As thus I travelled all alone, under a load of grief, from the ſenſe I had of the oppoſition and hardſhip I was to expect from my father, the enemy took advantage to aſſault me again, caſting a doubt into my mind, whether I had done well, in thus coming away from my father, without his leave or knowledge.

I was quiet and peaceable in my ſpirit before this queſtion was darted into me; but after that diſturbance and trouble ſeized upon me, ſo that I was at a ſtand what to do, whether to go forward or backward. Fear of offending inclined me to go back, but deſire of the meeting, and to be with friends, preſſed me to go forward.

I ſtood ſtill awhile to conſider and weigh, as well as I could, the matter. I was ſenſibly ſatisfied that I had

had not left my father with any intention of undutifulneſs or diſreſpect to him, but merely in obedience to that drawing of ſpirit, which I was perſuaded was of the LORD, to join with his people in worſhipping him, and this made me eaſy.

But then the enemy, to make me uneaſy again, objected, 'But how could that drawing be of the 'LORD, which drew me to diſobey my father?'

I conſidered thereupon the extent of paternal power, which I found was not wholly arbitrary and unlimited, but had bounds ſet unto it: ſo that as in civil matters it was reſtrained to things lawful, ſo in ſpiritual and religious caſes it had not a compulſory power over conſcience, which ought to be ſubject to the heavenly Father. And therefore, though obedience to parents be enjoined to children, yet it is with this limitation, [IN THE LORD:] "Children, obey your parents in "the Lord; for this is right." 1 Pet. vi. 1.

This turned the ſcale for going forward, and ſo on I went. And yet I was not wholly free from ſome fluctuations of mind, from the beſetings of the enemy. Wherefore, although I knew that outward ſigns did not properly belong to the goſpel diſpenſation, yet for my better aſſurance, I did, in fear and great humility, beſeech the Lord, that he would be pleaſed ſo far to condeſcend to the weakneſs of his ſervant, as to give me a ſign, by which I might certainly know whether my way was right before him or not.

The

The ſign which I aſked was, 'That if I had done 'wrong in coming as I did, I might be rejected, or 'but coldly received at the place I was going to; 'but if this mine undertaking was right in his ſight, 'he would give me favour with them I went to, ſo 'that they ſhould receive me with hearty kindneſs, 'and demonſtrations of love.' Accordingly, when I came to John Rance's houſe, (which, being ſo much a ſtranger to all, I choſe to go to, becauſe I underſtood the meeting was commonly held there,) they received me with more than ordinary kindneſs, eſpecially Frances Rance, John Rance's then wife, who was both a grave and motherly woman, and had a hearty love to truth, and tenderneſs towards all that in ſincerity ſought after it. And this ſo kind reception, confirming me in the belief that my undertaking was approved of by the Lord, gave great ſatisfaction and eaſe to my mind; and I was thankful to the Lord therefor.

Thus it fared with me there; but at home it fared otherwiſe with my father. He ſuppoſing I had betaken myſelf to my chamber, when he took my hat from me, made no inquiry after me till evening came; and then ſitting by the fire, and conſidering that the weather was very cold, he ſaid to my ſiſter, who ſat by him, 'Go up to your brother's chamber, and call 'him down; it may be he will ſit there elſe, in a 'ſullen fit, till he has caught cold.' 'Alas! Sir,' ſaid ſhe, 'he is not in his chamber, nor in the houſe 'neither.'

'neither.' At that my father ſtartling, ſaid, 'Why 'where is he then?' 'I know not, Sir,' ſaid ſhe, 'where he is; but I know that, when he ſaw you had 'ſent away his horſe, he put on ſhoes, and went out 'on foot, and I have not ſeen him ſince. And indeed, 'Sir,' added ſhe, 'I don't wonder at his going away, 'conſidering how you uſed him.' This put my father into a great fright, doubting I was gone quite away; and ſo great a paſſion of grief ſeized on him, that he forebore not to weep, and to cry out aloud, ſo that the family heard him, 'Oh! my ſon! I ſhall never 'ſee him more! for he is of ſo bold and reſolute a 'ſpirit, that he will run himſelf into danger, and ſo 'may be thrown into ſome gaol or other, where he 'may lie and die before I can hear of him.' Then bidding her light him up to his chamber, he went immediately to bed, where he lay reſtleſs and groaning, and often bemoaning himſelf and me, for the greateſt part of the night.

Next morning my ſiſter ſent a man (whom for his love to me ſhe knew ſhe could truſt) to give me this account; and though by him ſhe ſent me alſo freſh linen for my uſe, in caſe I ſhould go farther, or ſtay out longer; yet ſhe deſired me to come home as ſoon as I could.

This account was very uneaſy to me. I was much grieved thatI had occaſioned ſo much grief to my father. And I would have returned that evening after the meeting, but the friends would not permit it, for the

meeting

meeting would in likelihood end late, the days being ſhort, and the way was long and dirty. And beſides, John Rance told me, that he had ſomething on his mind to ſpeak to my father, and that if I would ſtay till the next day, he would go down with me, hoping, perhaps, that while my father was under this ſorrow for me, he might work ſome good upon him. Hereupon, concluding to ſtay till the morrow, I diſmiſſed the man with the things he brought, bidding him tell my ſiſter, I intended, God willing, to return home to-morrow; and charging him not to let any body elſe know that he had ſeen me, or where he had been.

Next morning John Rance and I ſet out, and when we were come to the end of the town, we agreed that he ſhould go before and knock at the great gate, and I would come a little after, and go in by the back way. He did ſo; and when a ſervant came to open the gate, he aſking if the juſtice were at home, ſhe told him yes; and deſiring him to come in and ſit down in the hall, went and acquainted her maſter that there was one who deſired to ſpeak with him. He, ſuppoſing it was one that came for juſtice, went readily into the hall to him. But he was not a little ſurpriſed when he found it was a Quaker. Yet not knowing on what account he came, he ſtaid to hear his buſineſs. But when he found it was about me, he fell ſomewhat ſharply on him.

In

In this time I was come by the back way into the kitchen, and hearing my father's voice ſo loud, I began to doubt things wrought not well; but I was ſoon aſſured of that. For my father having quickly enough of a Quaker's company, left John Rance in the hall, and came into the kitchen, where he was more ſurpriſed to find me.

The ſight of my hat upon my head, made him preſently forget that I was that ſon of his, whom he had ſo lately lamented as loſt; and his paſſion of grief turning into anger, he could not contain himſelf, but running upon me, with both his hands, firſt violently ſnatched off my hat, and threw it away; then giving me ſome buffets on my head, he ſaid, 'Sirrah, get 'you up to your chamber.'

I forthwith went; he following me at the heels, and now and then giving me a whirret on the ear, which, the way to my chamber lying through the hall where John Rance was, he, poor man, might ſee and be ſorry for, (as I doubt not but he was) but could not help me.

This was ſure an unaccountable thing, that my father ſhould, but a day before, expreſs ſo high a ſorrow for me, as fearing he ſhould never ſee me any more, and yet now, ſo ſoon as he did ſee me, ſhould fly upon me with ſuch violence, and that only becauſe I did not put off my hat, which he knew I did not put on in diſreſpect to him, but upon a religious principle. But as this hat-honour (as it was accounted) was grown

grown to be a great idol, in thoſe times more eſpecially, ſo the Lord was pleaſed to engage his ſervants in a ſteady teſtimony againſt it, what ſuffering ſoever was brought upon them for it. And though ſome who have been called into the Lord's vineyard at later hours, and ſince the heat of that day hath been much over, may be apt to account this teſtimony a ſmall thing to ſuffer ſo much upon, as ſome have done, not only to beating, but to fines and long and hard impriſonments; yet they who, in thoſe times, were faithfully exerciſed in and under it, durſt not deſpiſe the day of ſmall things; as knowing that he who ſhould do ſo, would not be thought worthy to be concerned in higher teſtimonies.

I had now loſt one of my hats, and I had but one more. That therefore I put on, but did not keep it long; for the next time my father ſaw it on my head, he tore it violently from me, and laid it up with the other, I knew not where. Wherefore I put on my mountier-cap, which was all I had left to wear on my head, and it was but a very little while that I had that to wear; for as ſoon as my father came where I was, I loſt that alſo. And now I was forced to go bare-headed, wherever I had occaſion to go, within doors and without.

This was in the eleventh month, called January, and the weather ſharp, ſo that I, who had been bred up more tenderly, took ſo great a cold in my head,

that my face and head were much ſwelled, and my gums had on them boils ſo ſore, that I could neither chew meat, nor without difficulty ſwallow liquids. It held long, and I underwent much pain, without much pity, except from my poor ſiſter, who did what ſhe could to give me eaſe; and at length, by frequent applications of figs and ſtoned raiſins toaſted, and laid to the boils as hot as I could bear them, they ripened fit for lancing, and ſoon after ſunk; then I had eaſe.

Now was I laid up as a kind of priſoner for the reſt of the winter, having no means to go forth among friends, nor they liberty to come to me. Wherefore I ſpent the time much in my chamber, in waiting on the LORD, and in reading moſtly in the bible.

But whenever I had occaſion to ſpeak to my father, though I had no hat now to offend him, yet my language did as much; for I durſt not ſay YOU to him, but THOU or THEE, as the occaſion required, and then would he be ſure to fall on me with his fiſts.

At one of theſe times I remember when he had beaten me in that manner, he commanded me, as he commonly did at ſuch times, to go to my chamber, which I did, and he followed me to the bottom of the ſtairs. Being come thither, he gave me a parting blow, and in a very angry tone ſaid, 'Sirrah, if ever 'I hear you ſay Thou or Thee to me again, I'll ſtrike 'your teeth down your throat.' I was greatly grieved to hear him ſay ſo. And feeling a word riſe in my heart

heart unto him, I turned again, and calmly ſaid unto him, 'Would it not be juſt, if God ſhould ſerve thee 'ſo, when thou ſayeſt Thou or Thee to him?' Though his hand was up, I ſaw it ſink, and his countenance fall, and he turned away and left me ſtanding there. But I notwithſtanding went up into my chamber, and cried unto the Lord, earneſtly beſeeching him, that he would be pleaſed to open my father's eyes, that he might ſee whom he fought againſt, and for what; and that he would turn his heart.

After this I had a pretty time of reſt and quiet from theſe diſturbances, my father not ſaying any thing to me, nor giving me occaſion to ſay any thing to him. But I was ſtill under a kind of confinement, unleſs I would have run about the country bare-headed like a mad man; which I did not ſee it was my place to do. For I found that, although to be abroad and at liberty among my friends, would have been more pleaſant to me, yet home was at preſent my proper place, a ſchool in which I was to learn with patience to bear the croſs, and I willingly ſubmitted to it.

But after ſome time a freſh ſtorm, more fierce and ſharp than any before, aroſe and fell upon me; the occaſion whereof was this: My father, having been in his younger years, more eſpecially while he lived in London, a conſtant hearer of thoſe who are called Puritan preachers, had ſtored up a pretty ſtock of ſcripture knowledge, did ſometimes (not conſtantly,

nor very often) cauſe his family to come together on a firſt-day in the evening, and expound a chapter to them, and pray. His family now, as well as his eſtate, was leſſened; for my mother was dead, my brother gone, and my elder ſiſter at London; and having put off his huſbandry, he had put off with it moſt of his ſervants, ſo that he had now but one man and one maid ſervant. It ſo fell out, that on a firſt-day night he bid my ſiſter, who ſat with him in the parlour, call in the ſervants to prayer.

Whether this was done as a trial upon me or no, I know not, but a trial it proved to me; for they loving me very well, and diſliking my father's carriage to me, made no haſte to go in, but ſtaid a ſecond ſummons. This ſo offended him, that when at length they did go in, he, inſtead of going to prayer, examined them, why they came not in when they were firſt called; and the anſwer they gave him being ſuch as rather heightened than abated his diſpleaſure, he with an angry tone ſaid, 'Call in that fellow,' (meaning me, who was left alone in the kitchen) 'for he is the cauſe 'of all this.' They, as they were backward to go in themſelves, ſo were not forward to call me in, fearing the effect of my father's diſpleaſure would fall upon me, as ſoon it did, for I hearing what was ſaid, and not ſtaying for the call, went in of myſelf. And as ſoon as I was come in, my father diſcharged his diſpleaſure on me, in very ſharp and bitter expreſſions; which

which drew from me (in the grief of my heart, to ſee him ſo tranſported with paſſion) theſe few words, 'They that can pray with ſuch a ſpirit let them; for 'my part I cannot.' With that my father flew upon me with both his fiſts, and not thinking that ſufficient, ſtepped haſtily to the place where his cane ſtood, and catching that up, laid on me, I thought, with all his ſtrength. And, I being bare-headed, I thought his blows muſt needs have broken my ſkull, had I not laid mine arm over my head to defend it.

His man ſeeing this, and not able to contain himſelf, ſtepped in between us, and laying hold on the cane, by ſtrength of hand held it ſo faſt, that though he attempted not to take it away, yet he withheld my father from ſtriking with it, which did but enrage him the more. I diſliked this in the man, and bid him let go the cane, and be gone, which he immediately did, and turning to be gone, had a blow on the ſhoulders for his pains, which yet did not much hurt him.

But now my ſiſter, fearing leſt my father ſhould fall upon me again, beſought him to forbear, adding, 'Indeed, Sir, if you ſtrike him any more, I will 'throw open the caſement and cry out murder, for I 'am afraid you will kill my brother.' This ſtopped his hand, and after ſome threatening ſpeeches he commanded me to get to my chamber which I did, as I always did whenever he bid me.

Thither, ſoon after, my ſiſter followed me to ſee my arm and dreſs it, for it was indeed very much bruiſed and ſwelled between the wriſt and the elbow, and in ſome places the ſkin was broken and beaten off. But though it was very ſore, and I felt for ſome time much pain in it, yet I had peace and quietneſs in my mind, being more grieved for my father than for myſelf, who I knew had hurt himſelf more than me.

This was, ſo far as I remember, the laſt time that ever my father called his family to prayer. And this was alſo the laſt time that he ever fell, ſo ſeverely at leaſt, upon me.

Soon after this my elder ſiſter, who in all the time of theſe exerciſes of mine had been at London, returned home, much troubled to find me a Quaker, a name of reproach and great contempt then, and ſhe being at London had received, I ſuppoſe the worſt character of them. Yet, though ſhe diſliked the people, her affectionate regard to me, made her rather pity than deſpiſe me, and the more, when ſhe underſtood what hard uſage I had met with.

The reſt of this winter I ſpent in a loneſome ſolitary life, having none to converſe with, none to unboſom myſelf unto, none to aſk counſel of, none to ſeek relief from, but the LORD alone, who yet was more than all. And yet the company and ſociety of faithful and judicious friends would, I thought, have been very welcome, as well as helpful to me in my ſpiritual travail;

travail; in which I thought I made but a ſlow progreſs, my ſoul breathing after further attainments: the ſenſe of which drew from me the following lines:

The winter tree
Reſembles me,
Whoſe ſap lies in its root:
The ſpring draws nigh;
As it, ſo I
Shall bud, I hope, and ſhoot.

At length it pleaſed the Lord to move Iſaac Penington and his wife to make a viſit to my father, and ſee how it fared with me: and very welcome they were to me, whatever they were to him; to whom I doubt not but they would have been more welcome, had it not been for me.

They tarried with us all night, and much diſcourſe they had with my father both about the principles of Truth in general, and me in particular, which I was not privy to. But one thing I remember I afterwards heard of, which was this:

When my father and we were at their houſe ſome months before, Mary Penington, in ſome diſcourſe between them, had told him how hardly her huſband's father (Alderman Penington) had dealt with him about his hat; which my father (little then thinking that it would, and ſo ſoon too, be his own caſe) did very much cenſure the alderman for, wondering that

ſo wiſe a man as he was ſhould take notice of ſuch a trivial thing as the putting off or keeping on a hat; and he ſpared not to blame him liberally for it.

This gave her a handle to take hold of him by. And having had an ancient acquaintance with him, and he having always had an high opinion of and reſpect for her; ſhe, who was a woman of great wiſdom, of ready ſpeech, and of a well reſolved ſpirit, did preſs ſo cloſe upon him with this home argument, that he was utterly to ſeek, and at a loſs how to defend himſelf.

After dinner next day, when they were ready to take coach to return home, ſhe deſired my father that, ſince my company was ſo little acceptable to him, he would give me leave to go and ſpend ſome time with them, where I ſhould be ſure to be welcome.

He was very unwilling I ſhould go, and made many objections againſt it, all which ſhe anſwered and removed ſo clearly, that not finding what excuſe further to alledge, he at length left it to me, and I ſoon turned the ſcale for going.

We were come to the coach ſide before this was concluded on, and I was ready to ſtep in, when one of my ſiſters privately put my father in mind that I had never a hat on. That ſomewhat ſtartled him, for he did not think it fit I ſhould go from home (and that ſo far and to ſtay abroad) without a hat. Wherefore he whiſpered to her to fetch me a hat, and he entertained them with ſome diſcourſe in the mean time.

time. But as ſoon as he ſaw the hat coming he would not ſtay till it came, leſt I ſhould put it on before him, but breaking off his diſcourſe abruptly, took his leave of them, and haſtened in before the hat was brought to me.

I had not one penny of money about me, nor indeed elſewhere: for my father, ſo ſoon as he ſaw that I would be a Quaker, took from me both what money I had, and every thing elſe of value, or that would have made money, as ſome plate buttons, rings, &c. pretending that he would keep them for me, till I came to myſelf again, leſt I, in the mean time, ſhould deſtroy them.

But as I had no money, ſo being among my friends I had no need of any, nor ever honed after it; though once upon a particular occaſion I had like to have wanted it: the caſe was thus:

I had been at Reading, and ſet out from thence on the firſt-day of the week in the morning, intending to reach (as, in point of time I well might) to Iſaac Penington's, where the meeting was to be that day; but when I came to Maidenhead, a thorough-fare town on the way, I was ſtopped by the watch for riding on that day.

The watchman laying hold on the bridle told me I muſt go with him to the conſtable; and accordingly I, making no reſiſtance, ſuffered him to lead my horſe to the conſtable's door. When we were come there the conſtable told me I muſt go before the warden, who

was the chief officer of that town, and bid the watchman bring me on, himſelf walking before.

Being come to the warden's door, the conſtable knocked, and deſired to ſpeak with Mr. Warden. He thereupon quickly coming to the door, the conſtable ſaid, 'Sir, I have brought a man here to you, 'whom the watch took riding through the town.' The warden was a budge old man; and I looked ſomewhat big too, having a good gelding under me, and a good riding coat on my back, both which my friend Iſaac Penington had kindly accommodated me with for that journey.

The warden therefore taking me to be (as the ſaying is) ſomebody, put off his hat and made a low congee to me; but when he ſaw that I ſat ſtill, and neither bowed to him, nor moved my hat, he gave a ſtart, and ſaid to the conſtable, 'You ſaid you had 'brought a man, but he don't behave himſelf like a 'man.'

I ſat ſtill upon my horſe, and ſaid not a word, but kept my mind retired to the Lord, waiting to ſee what this would come to.

The warden then began to examine me, aſking me whence I came, and whither I was going: I told him I came from Reading, and was going to Chalfont. He aſked me why I did travel on that day: I told him I did not know that it would give any offence barely to ride or to walk on that day, ſo long as I did not carry or drive any carriage, or horſes laden with burthens.

burthens. 'Why,' ſaid he, 'if your buſineſs was 'urgent, did you not take a paſs from the mayor of 'Reading?' 'Becauſe,' replied I, 'I did not know, 'nor think I ſhould have needed one.' 'Well,' ſaid he, 'I will not talk with you now, becauſe it is time 'to go to church, but I will examine you further 'anon.' And turning to the conſtable, 'Have him,' ſaid he, 'to an inn, and bring him before me after 'dinner.'

The naming of an inn put me in mind that ſuch publick houſes were places of expenſe, and I knew I had no money to defray it: wherefore I ſaid to the warden, 'Before thou ſendeſt me to an inn, which 'may occaſion ſome expenſe, I think it needful to 'acquaint thee, that I have no money.'

At that the warden ſtartled again, and turning quick upon me, ſaid, 'How! no money! How can that 'be? You don't look like a man that has no money.' 'However I look,' ſaid I, 'I tell thee the truth, 'that I have no money; and I tell it to forewarn thee, 'that thou mayeſt not bring any charge upon the 'town.' 'I wonder,' ſaid he, 'what art you have 'got, that you can travel without money; you can 'do more, I aſſure you, than I can.'

I making no anſwer, he went on and ſaid, 'Well, 'well! but if you have no money, you have a good 'horſe under you, and we can diſtrain him for the 'charge.' 'But, ſaid I, 'the horſe is not mine.' 'No!' ſaid he, 'But you have a good coat on your

'back, and that, I hope, is your own.' 'No,' ſaid I, 'but it is not, for I borrowed both the horſe and 'the coat.'

With that the warden holding up his hands, and ſmiling, ſaid, 'Bleſs me! I never met with ſuch 'a man as you are before! What! were you ſet out 'by the pariſh?' Then turning to the conſtable, he ſaid, 'Have him to the Greyhound, and bid the 'people be civil to him.' Accordingly to the Greyhound I was led, my horſe ſet up, and I put into a large room, and ſome account, I ſuppoſe, given of me to the people of the houſe.

This was new work to me, and what the iſſue of it would be, I could not foreſee; but being left there alone, I ſat down, and retired in ſpirit to the Lord, in whom alone my ſtrength and ſafety was, and begged ſupport of him; even that he would be pleaſed to give me wiſdom and words to anſwer the warden, when I ſhould come to be examined again before him.

After ſome time, having pen, ink, and paper about me, I ſet myſelf to write what I thought might be proper, if occaſion ſerved, to give the warden: and while I was writing, the maſter of the houſe being come home from his worſhip, ſent the tapſter to me, to invite me to dine with him. I bid him tell his maſter, that I had not any money to pay for my dinner. He ſent the man again to tell me, I ſhould be welcome to dine with him, though I had no money. I

deſired

desired him to tell his master, 'that I was very 'sensible of his civility and kindness, in so courteously 'inviting me to his table, but I had not freedom to 'eat of his meat unless I could have paid for it.' So he went on with his dinner, and I with my writing.

But before I had finished what was on my mind to write, the constable came again, bringing with him his fellow-constable. This was a brisk genteel young man, a shopkeeper in the town, whose name was Cherry. They saluted me very civilly, and told me they were come to have me before the warden. This put an end to my writing, which I put into my pocket, and went along with them.

Being come to the warden's, he asked me again the same questions he had asked me before; to which I gave him the like answers. Then he told me the penalty I had incurred, which he said was either to pay so much money, or lie so many hours in the stocks, and asked me which I would chuse: I replied, 'I shall not chuse either.' 'And,' said I, 'I have 'told thee already that I have no money; though if I 'had, I could not so far acknowledge myself an of- 'fender, as to pay any. But as to lying in the stocks, 'I am in thy power, to do unto me what it shall 'please the Lord to suffer thee.'

When he heard that, he paused awhile, and then told me, 'He considered that I was but a young man, 'and might not, perhaps, understand the danger I had 'brought myself into, and therefore he would not use 'the

'the ſeverity of the law upon me; but in hopes that 'I would be wiſer hereafter, he would paſs by this 'offence, and diſcharge me.'

Then putting on a countenance of the greateſt gravity, he ſaid to me, 'But, young man, I would 'have you know, that you have not only broken the 'law of the land, but the law of God alſo; and 'therefore you ought to aſk him forgiveneſs, for you 'have highly offended him.' 'That,' ſaid I, 'I 'would moſt willingly do, if I were ſenſible that, in 'this caſe, I had offended him by breaking any law 'of his.' 'Why,' ſaid he, 'do you queſtion that?' 'Yes truly,' ſaid I, 'for I do not know that any law 'of God doth forbid me to ride on this day.'

'No!' ſaid he, 'that's ſtrange! Where, I wonder 'was you bred? You can read, can't you?' 'Yes,' ſaid I, 'that I can.' 'Don't you then read,' ſaid he, 'the commandment, "Remember the Sabbath-day to "keep it holy. Six days ſhalt thou labour and do all "thy work; but the ſeventh-day is the Sabbath of "the Lord; in it thou ſhalt not do any work."' 'Yes,' replied I, 'I have both read it often, and re-'member it very well. But that command was given 'to the Jews, not to Chriſtians; and this is not that 'day, for that was the ſeventh-day, but this is the 'firſt.' 'How!' ſaid he, 'do you know the days 'of the week no better? you had need then be better 'taught.'

Here

Here the younger conſtable, whoſe name was Cherry, interpoſing, ſaid, 'Mr. Warden, the gentle-'man is in the right as to that, for this is the firſt day 'of the week, and not the ſeventh.'

This the old Warden took in dudgeon; and looking ſeverely on the conſtable ſaid, 'What! do you take 'upon you to teach me! I'll have you know I will 'not be taught by you.' 'As you pleaſe for that, 'Sir,' ſaid the conſtable, 'but I am ſure you are 'miſtaken in this point; for Saturday, I know, is the 'ſeventh-day, and you know yeſterday was Saturday.'

This made the Warden hot and teſty, and put him almoſt out of all patience, ſo that I feared it would have come to a downright quarrel betwixt them, for both were confident, and neither would yield. And ſo earneſtly were they engaged in the conteſt, that there was no room for me to put in a word between them.

At length the old man, having talked himſelf out of wind, ſtood ſtill awhile as it were to take breath, and then bethinking himſelf of me, he turned to me and ſaid, 'You are diſcharged, and may take your 'liberty to go about your occaſions.' 'But,' ſaid I, 'I deſire my horſe may be diſcharged too, elſe I 'know not how to go.' 'Ay, ay,' ſaid he, 'you 'ſhall have your horſe;' and turning to the other conſtable, who had not offended him, he ſaid, 'Go, 'ſee that his horſe be delivered to him.'

Away thereupon went I with that conſtable, leaving the old Warden and the young conſtable to compoſe their

their difference as they could. Being come to the inn, the conſtable called for my horſe to be brought out. Which done, I immediately mounted, and began to ſet forward. But the hoſtler, not knowing the condition of my pocket, ſaid modeſtly to me, 'Sir, don't you forget to pay for your horſe's ſtand-'ing?' 'No, truly,' ſaid I, 'I don't forget it, but I 'have no money to pay it with, and ſo I told the 'warden before.' 'Well, hold you your tongue,' ſaid the conſtable to the hoſtler, 'I'll ſee you paid.' Then opening the gate they let me out, the conſtable wiſhing me a good journey, and through the town I rode without further moleſtation; though it was as much ſabbath, I thought, when I went out, as it was when I came in.

A ſecret joy aroſe in me as I rode on the way, for that I had been preſerved from doing or ſaying any thing which might give the adverſaries of Truth advantage againſt it, or the friends of it; and praiſes ſprang in my thankful heart to the Lord, my preſerver.

It added alſo not a little to my joy, that I felt the Lord near unto me, by his witneſs in my heart, to check and warn me; and my ſpirit was ſo far ſubjected to him, as readily to take warning, and ſtop at his check; an inſtance of both, that very morning, I had.

For as I rode between Reading and Maidenhead, I ſaw lying in my way the ſcabbard of an hanger, which, having loſt its hook, had ſlipped off, I ſuppoſe, and dropped

dropped from the ſide of the wearer; and it had in it a pair of knives, whoſe hafts being inlaid with ſilver, ſeemed to be of ſome value. I alighted and took it up, and clapping it between my thigh and the ſaddle, rode on a little way; but I quickly found it too heavy for me, and the reprover in me ſoon began to check. The word aroſe in me, 'What haſt thou to do 'with that? Doth it belong to thee?' I felt I had done amiſs in taking it; wherefore I turned back to the place where it lay, and laid it down where I found it. And when afterwards I was ſtopped and ſeized on at Maidenhead, I ſaw there was a Providence in not bringing it with me; which, if it ſhould have been found (as it needs muſt) under my coat when I came to be unhorſed, might have raiſed ſome evil ſuſpicion or ſiniſter thoughts concerning me.

The ſtop I met with at Maidenhead had ſpent me ſo much time, that when I came to Iſaac Penington's the meeting there was half over, which gave them occaſion, after meeting, to inquire of me, if any thing had befallen me on the way, which had cauſed me to come ſo late: whereupon I related to them what exerciſe I had met with, and how the Lord had helped me through it: which when they had heard, they rejoiced with me, and for my ſake.

Great was the love and manifold the kindneſs which I received from theſe my worthy friends Iſaac and Mary Penington, while I abode in their family. They were indeed as affectionate parents, and tender

nurſes

nurſes to me, in this time of my religious childhood. For beſides their weighty and ſeaſonable counſels, and exemplary converſations, they furniſhed me with means to go to the other meetings of friends in that country, when the meeting was not in their own houſe. And indeed, the time I ſtaid with them was ſo well ſpent, that it not only yielded great ſatisfaction to my mind, but turned, in good meaſure, to my ſpiritual advantage in the Truth.

But that I might not, on the one hand, bear too hard upon my friends, nor on the other hand forget the houſe of thraldom: after I had ſtaid with them ſome ſix or ſeven weeks (from the time called Eaſter, to the time called Whitſuntide) I took my leave of them to depart home, intending to walk to Wycombe in one day, and from thence home in another.

That day that I came home I did not ſee my father, nor until noon the next day, when I went into the parlour where he was, to take my uſual place at dinner.

As ſoon as I came in, I obſerved by my father's countenance, that my hat was ſtill an offence to him; but when I was ſitten down, and before I had eaten any thing, he made me underſtand it more fully, by ſaying to me, but in a milder tone than he had formerly uſed to ſpeak to me in, 'If you cannot content 'yourſelf to come to dinner without your hive on 'your head, (ſo he called my hat) pray riſe, and go 'take your dinner ſomewhere elſe.'

Upon

Upon thoſe words I aroſe from the table, and leaving the room went into the kitchen, where I ſtaid till the ſervants went to dinner, and then ſat down very contentedly with them. Yet I ſuppoſe my father might intend that I ſhould have gone into ſome other room, and there have eaten by myſelf. But I choſe rather to eat with the ſervants, and did ſo from thenceforward, ſo long as he and I lived together. And from this time he rather choſe, as I thought, to avoid ſeeing me, than to renew the quarrel about my hat.

My ſiſters, meanwhile obſerving my warineſs in words and behaviour, and being ſatisfied, I ſuppoſe, that I acted upon a principle of religion and conſcience, carried themſelves very kindly to me, and did what they could to mitigate my father's diſpleaſure againſt me. So that I now enjoyed much more quiet at home, and took more liberty to go abroad amongſt my friends than I had done or could do before. And having informed myſelf where any meetings of friends were holden, within a reaſonable diſtance from me, I reſorted to them.

At firſt I went to a town called Hoddenham, in Buckinghamſhire, five miles from my father's, where, at the houſe of one Belſon, a few who were called Quakers, did meet ſometimes on a firſt-day of the week; but I found little ſatisfaction there. Afterwards, upon further inquiry, I underſtood there was a ſettled meeting at a little village called Meadle, about

about four long miles from me, in the houſe of one John White, which is continued there ſtill; and to that thenceforward I conſtantly went while I abode in that country and was able. Many a ſore day's travel have I had thither and back again, being commonly in the winter time, (how fair ſoever the weather was over head) wet up to the ancles at leaſt; yet through the goodneſs of the Lord to me, I was preſerved in health.

A little meeting alſo there was on the fourth day of the week at a town called Bledlow, (two miles from me) in the houſe of one Thomas Saunders, who profeſſed the truth; but his wife, whoſe name was Damaris, did poſſeſs it (ſhe being a woman of great ſincerity and lively ſenſe) and to that meeting alſo I uſually went.

But though I took this liberty for the ſervice of GOD, that I might worſhip him in the aſſemblies of his people, yet did I not uſe it upon other occaſions, but ſpent my time, on other days for the moſt part in my chamber, in retiredneſs of mind, waiting on the Lord. And the Lord was graciouſly pleaſed to viſit me, by his quickening ſpirit and life, ſo that I came to feel the operation of his power in my heart, working out that which was contrary to his will, and giving me, in meaſure, dominion over it.

And as my ſpirit was kept in a due ſubjection to this divine power, I grew into a nearer acquaintance with the Lord; and the Lord vouchſafed to ſpeak unto me

in

in the inward of my ſoul, and to open my underſtanding in his fear, to receive counſel from him; ſo that I not only at ſome times heard his voice, but could diſtinguiſh his voice from the voice of the enemy.

As thus I daily waited on the Lord, a weighty and unuſual exerciſe came upon me, which bowed my ſpirit very low before the Lord. I had ſeen, in the light of the Lord, the horrible guilt of thoſe deceitful prieſts, of divers ſorts and denominations, who made a trade of preaching, and for filthy lucre ſake held the people always learning; yet ſo taught them, as that, by their teaching and miniſtry, they were never able to come to the knowledge (much leſs to the acknowledgment) of the truth: for as they themſelves hated the light, becauſe their own deeds were evil, ſo by reviling, reproaching, and blaſpheming the true light, (wherewith every man that cometh into the world is enlightened, John i. 9.) they begat in the people a diſeſteem of the light; and laboured as much as in them lay, to keep their hearers in the darkneſs, that they might not be turned to the light in themſelves, leſt by the light they ſhould diſcover the wickedneſs of theſe their deceitful teachers, and turn from them.

Againſt this practice of theſe falſe teachers, the zeal of the Lord had flamed in my breaſt for ſome time; and now the burthen of the word of the Lord againſt them fell heavy upon me, with command to proclaim his controverſy againſt them.

Fain

Fain would I have been excuſed from this ſervice, which I judged too heavy for me: wherefore I beſought the Lord to take this weight from off me, who was, in every reſpect, but young, and lay it upon ſome other of his ſervants, of whom he had many, who were much more able and fit for it. But the Lord would not be intreated, but continued the burden upon me with greater weight; requiring obedience from me, and promiſing to aſſiſt me therein. Whereupon I aroſe from my bed, and in the fear and dread of the Lord, committed to writing what he, in the motion of his divine Spirit, dictated to me to write. When I had done it, though the ſharpneſs of the meſſage therein delivered, was hard to my nature to be the publiſher of; yet I found acceptance with the Lord, in my obedience to his will, and his peace filled my heart. As ſoon as I could, I communicated to my friends what I had written; and it was printed in the year 1660, in one ſheet of paper, under the title of *An Alarm to the* PRIESTS; or, *A Meſſage from Heaven to forewarn them, &c.*

Some time after the publiſhing of this paper, having occaſion to go to London, I went to viſit George Fox the younger, who, with another friend, was then a priſoner in a meſſenger's hands. I had never ſeen him, nor he me before; yet this paper lying on the table before him, he pointing to it, aſked me if I was the perſon that writ it: I told him I was. 'It's 'much,' ſaid the other friend, 'that they bear it.'

'It

'It is,' replied he, 'their portion, and they muſt 'bear it.'

While I was then in London, I went to a little meeting of friends, which was then held in the houſe of one Humphrey Bache, a goldſmith, at the ſign of the Snail in Tower-ſtreet. It was then a very troubleſome time, not from the government, but from the rabble of boys and rude people, who upon the turn of the times, (at the return of the King) took liberty to be very abuſive.

When the meeting ended, a pretty number of theſe unruly folk were got together at the door, ready to receive the friends as they came forth, not only with evil words, but with blows; which I ſaw they beſtowed freely on ſome of them that were gone out before me, and expected I ſhould have my ſhare of when I came amongſt them. But quite contrary to my expectation, when I came out, they ſaid one to another, 'Let him alone; don't meddle with him; 'he is no Quaker, I'll warrant you.'

This ſtruck me, and was worſe to me than if they had laid their fiſts on me, as they did on others. I was troubled to think what the matter was, or what theſe rude people ſaw in me, that made them not take me for a Quaker. And upon a cloſe examination of myſelf, with reſpect to my habit and deportment, I could not find any thing to place it on, but that I had then on my head a large mountier-cap of black velvet, the ſkirt of which being turned up in folds, looked, it

ſeems,

ſeems, ſomewhat above the then common garb of a Quaker; and this put me out of conceit with my cap.

I came at this time to London from Iſaac Penington's, and thither I went again in my way home; and while I ſtaid there, amongſt other friends who came thither, Thomas Loe, of Oxford, was one. A faithful and diligent labourer he was in the work of the Lord, and an excellent miniſterial gift he had. And I, in my zeal for truth, being very deſirous that my neighbours might have the opportunity of hearing the goſpel, the glad tidings of ſalvation, livingly and powerfully preached among them, entered into communication with him about it; offering to procure ſome convenient place in the town where I lived, for a meeting to be held, and to invite my neighbours to it, if he could give me any ground to expect his company at it. He told me he was not at his own command, but at the Lord's, and he knew not how he might diſpoſe of him; but wiſhed me, if I found when I was come home, that the thing continued with weight upon my mind, and that I could get a fit place for a meeting, I would advertize him of it, by a few lines, directed to him in Oxford, whither he was then going, and he might then let me know how his freedom ſtood in that matter.

When therefore I was come home, and had treated with a neighbour for a place to have a meeting in, I wrote to my friend Thomas Loe, to acquaint him that

that I had procured a place for a meeting, and would invite company to it, if he would fix the time, and give me ſome ground to hope that he would be at it.

This letter I ſent by a neighbour to Thame, to be given to a dyer of Oxford, who conſtantly kept Thame market, with whom I was pretty well acquainted, having ſometimes formerly uſed him, not only in his way of trade, but to carry letters between my brother and me, when he was a ſtudent in that Univerſity, for which he was always paid; and had been ſo careful in the delivery, that our letters had always gone ſafe until now. But this time (Providence ſo ordering, or at leaſt for my trial permitting it) this letter of mine, inſtead of being delivered according to its direction, was ſeized and carried, as I was told, to the Lord Faulkland, who was then called Lord Lieutenant of that county.

The occaſion of this ſtopping of letters at that time, was that mad prank of thoſe infatuated Fifth-monarchy-men, who from their meeting-houſe in Coleman-ſtreet, London, breaking forth in arms, under the command of their chieftain Venner, made an inſurrection in the city, on pretence of ſetting up the Kingdom of Jeſus; who, it is ſaid, they expected would come down from heaven to be their leader. So little underſtood they the nature of his kingdom; though he himſelf had declared it was not of this world.

The King, a little before his arrival in England, had, by his declaration from Breda, given aſſurance of liberty to tender conſciences; and that no man ſhould be diſquieted, or called in queſtion for difference of opinion in matters of religion, who do not diſturb the peace of the kingdom. Upon this aſſurance, diſſenters of all ſorts relied, and held themſelves ſecure. But now, by this frantick action of a few hot-brained men, the King was, by ſome, holden diſcharged from his royal word and promiſe, in his foregoing declaration publickly given. And hereupon letters were intercepted, and broken open, for diſcovery of ſuſpected plots and deſigns againſt the government; and not only diſſenters meetings, of all ſorts, without diſtinction, were diſturbed, but very many were impriſoned in moſt parts throughout the nation; and great ſearch there was, in all countries, for ſuſpected perſons, who, if not found at meetings, were fetched in from their own houſes.

The Lord Lieutenant (ſo called) of Oxfordſhire, had on this occaſion, taken Thomas Loe, and many other of our friends at a meeting, and ſent them priſoners to Oxford caſtle, juſt before my letter was brought to his hand, wherein I had invited Thomas Loe to a meeting; and he, putting the worſt conſtruction upon it, as if I (a poor ſimple lad) had intended a ſeditious meeting, in order to raiſe rebellion, ordered two of the Deputy Lieutenants, who lived neareſt to me, to ſend a party of horſe to fetch me in.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, while I (wholly ignorant of what had paſſed at Oxford) was in daily expectation of an agreeable anſwer to my letter, came a party of horſe one morning to my father's gate, and aſked for me.

It ſo fell out, that my father was at that time from home; I think in London; whereupon he that commanded the party alighted, and came in. My eldeſt ſiſter, hearing the noiſe of ſoldiers, came haſtily up into my chamber, and told me there were ſoldiers below, who inquired for me. I forthwith went down to them, and found the commander was a barber of Thame, and one who had always been my barber till I was a Quaker. His name was Whately, a bold briſk fellow.

I aſked him what his buſineſs was with me: he told me I muſt go with him. I demanded to ſee his warrant: he laid his hand on his ſword, and ſaid that was his warrant. I told him though that was not a legal warrant, yet I would not diſpute it, but was ready to bear injuries. He told me he could not help it, he was commanded to bring me forthwith before the Deputy Lieutenants, and therefore deſired me to order an horſe to be got ready, becauſe he was in haſte. I let him know I had no horſe of my own, and would not meddle with any of my father's horſes, in his abſence eſpecially; and that therefore, if he would have me with him, he muſt carry me as he could.

He thereupon taking my ſiſter aſide, told her he found I was reſolute, and his orders were peremptory,

wherefore he desired that she would give order for an horse to be made ready for me, for otherwise he should be forced to mount me behind a trooper, which would be very unsuitable for me, and which he was very unwilling to do. She thereupon ordered an horse to be got ready, upon which, when I had taken leave of my sisters, I mounted, and went off, not knowing whether he intended to carry me.

He had orders, it seems, to take some others also in a neighbouring village, whose names he had, but their houses he did not know. Wherefore, as we rode, he asked me if I knew such and such men, (whom he named) and where they lived; and when he understood that I knew them, he desired me to shew him their houses. 'No,' said I, 'I scorn to be an informer 'against my neighbours, to bring them into trouble.' He thereupon riding to and fro, found by inquiry most of their houses; but, as it happened, found none of them at home, at which I was glad.

At length he brought me to the house of one called Esquire Clark, of Weston, by Thame, who, being afterwards knighted, was called Sir John Clark; a jolly man, too much addicted to drinking in soberer times, but was now grown more licentious that way, as the times did now more favour debauchery. He and I had known one another for some years, though not very intimately, having met sometimes at the Lord Wenman's table,

This

This Clark was one of the Deputy Lieutenants, whom I was to be brought before. And he had gotten another thither to join with him in tendering me the oaths, whom I knew only by name and character; he was called Eſquire Knowls, of Grays, by Henley, and reputed a man of better morals than the other.

I was brought into the hall, and kept there: and as Quakers were not ſo common then as they now are, (and indeed even yet, the more is the pity, they are not common in that part of the country) I was made a ſpectacle and gazing-ſtock to the family, and by divers I was diverſly ſet upon. Some ſpake to me courteouſly, with appearance of compaſſion; others ruggedly, with evident tokens of wrath and ſcorn. But though I gave them the hearing of what they ſaid, which I could not well avoid, yet I ſaid little to them; but keeping my mind as well retired as I could, I breathed to the Lord for help and ſtrength from him, to bear me up and carry me through this trial, that I might not ſink under it, or be prevailed on by any means, fair or foul, to do any thing that might diſhonour or diſpleaſe my God.

At length came forth the juſtices themſelves, (for ſo they were, as well as Lieutenants) and after they had ſaluted me, they diſcourſed with me pretty familiarly: and though Clark would ſometimes be a little jocular and waggiſh, (which was ſomewhat natural to him) yet Knowls treated me very civilly, not ſeeming to

take any offence at my not ſtanding bare before him. And when a young prieſt, who, as I underſtood was chaplain in the family, took upon him pragmatically to reprove me for ſtanding with my hat on before the magiſtrates, and ſnatched my cap from off my head, Knowls, in a pleaſant manner, corrected him, telling him he miſtook himſelf, in taking a cap for a hat, (for mine was a mountier-cap) and bid him give it me again; which he (though unwillingly) doing, I forthwith put it on my head again, and thenceforward none meddled with me about it.

Then they began to examine me, putting divers queſtions to me, relating to the preſent diſturbances in the nation, occaſioned by the late fooliſh inſurrection of thoſe frantick Fifth-monarchy-men. To all which I readily anſwered, according to the ſimplicity of my heart, and innocency of my hands; for I had neither done nor thought any evil againſt the government.

But they endeavoured to affright me with threats of danger, telling me (with innuendoes) that for all my pretence of innocency, there was high matter againſt me, which, if I would ſtand out, would be brought forth, and that under my own hand. I knew not what they meant by this; but I knew my innocency, and kept to it.

At length, when they ſaw I regarded not their threats in general, they aſked me, if I knew one Thomas Loe, and had written of late to him. I then remembered my letter, which till then I had

not

not thought of, and thereupon frankly told them, that I did both know Thomas Loe, and had lately written to him; but that as I knew I had written no hurt, ſo I did not fear any danger from that letter. They ſhook their heads, and ſaid, 'It was dangerous to 'write letters to appoint meetings in ſuch troubleſome 'times.'

They added, that by appointing a meeting, and endeavouring to gather a concourſe of people together, in ſuch a juncture eſpecially as this was, I had rendered myſelf a dangerous perſon. And therefore they could do no leſs than tender me the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, which therefore they required me to take.

I told them, if I could take any oath at all, I would take the oath of allegiance, for I owed allegiance to the king. But I durſt not take any oath, becauſe my Lord and Maſter JESUS CHRIST, had commanded me not to ſwear at all; and if I brake his command, I ſhould thereby both diſhonour and diſpleaſe him.

Hereupon they undertook to reaſon with me, and uſed many words to perſuade me, that that command of Chriſt related only to common and prophane ſwearing, not to ſwearing before a magiſtrate. I heard them, and ſaw the weakneſs of their arguings, but did not return them any anſwer; for I found my preſent buſineſs was not to diſpute, but to ſuffer; and that it was not ſafe for me, in this my weak and childiſh ſtate eſpecially, to enter into reaſonings with

ſharp, quick, witty, and learned men, leſt I might thereby hurt both the cauſe of truth, which I was to bear witneſs to, and myſelf: therefore I choſe rather to be a fool, and let them triumph over me, than by my weakneſs give them advantage to triumph over the truth. And my ſpirit being cloſely exerciſed in a deep travail towards the Lord, I earneſtly begged of him, that he would be pleaſed to keep me faithful to the teſtimony he had committed to me, and not ſuffer me to be taken in any of the ſnares which the enemy laid for me. And, bleſſed be his holy name, he heard my cries, and preſerved me out of them.

When the juſtices ſaw they could not bow me to their wills, they told me they muſt ſend me to priſon. I told them I was contented to ſuffer whatſoever the Lord ſhould ſuffer them to inflict upon me. Whereupon they withdrew into the parlour, to conſult together what to do with me, leaving me meanwhile to be gazed on in the hall.

After a pretty long ſtay they came forth to me again with great ſhew of kindneſs, telling me they were very unwilling to ſend me to gaol, but would be as favourable to me as poſſibly they could, and that if I would take the oaths, they would paſs by all the other matter, which they had againſt me. I told them I knew they could not juſtly have any thing againſt me, for I had neither done, nor intended any thing againſt the government, or againſt them. And as to the oaths, I aſſured them, that my refuſing them

was

was merely matter of conſcience to me, and that I durſt not take any oath whatſoever, if it were to ſave my life.

When they heard this, they left me again, and went and ſigned a Mittimus to ſend me to priſon at Oxford, and charged one of the troopers that brought me thither, who was one of the newly raiſed militia troop, to convey me ſafe to Oxford. But before we departed they called the trooper aſide, and gave him private inſtructions, what he ſhould do with me, which I knew nothing of till I came thither, but expected I ſhould go directly to the caſtle.

It was almoſt dark when we took horſe, and we had about nine or ten miles to ride, the weather thick and cold, (for it was about the beginning of the twelfth month) and I had no boots, being ſnatched away from home on a ſudden, which made me not care to ride very faſt. And my guard, who was a tradeſman in Thame, having confidence in me, that I would not give him the ſlip, jogged on without heeding how I followed him.

When I was gone about a mile on the way, I overtook my father's man, who, without my knowledge, had followed me at a diſtance to Weſton, and waited there abroad in the ſtables, till he underſtood by ſome of the ſervants that I was to go to Oxford; and then ran before, reſolving not to leave me till he ſaw what they would do with me.

I would have had him return home, but he desired me not to send him back, but let him run on till I came to Oxford. I considered that it was a token of the fellow's affectionate kindness to me, and that possibly I might send my horse home by him; and thereupon stopping my horse, I bid him, if he would go on, get up behind me. He modestly refused, telling me he could run as fast as I rid. But when I told him if he would not ride he should not go forward, he, rather than leave me, leaped up behind me, and on we went.

But he was not willing I should have gone at all. He had a great cudgel in his hand, and a strong arm to use it; and being a stout fellow, he had a great mind to fight the trooper, and rescue me. Wherefore he desired me to turn my horse and ride off. And if the trooper offered to pursue, leave him to deal with him.

I checked him sharply for that, and charged him to be quiet, and not think hardly of the poor trooper, who could do no other nor less than he did; and who, though he had an ill journey in going with me, carried himself civilly to me. I told him also, that I had no need to fly, for I had done nothing that would bring guilt or fear upon me; neither did I go with an ill will; and this quieted the man. So on we went; but were so far cast behind the trooper, that we had lost both sight and hearing of him, and I was fain to mend my pace to get up to him again.

We

We came pretty late into Oxford on the ſeventh day of the week, which was the market day; and, contrary to my expectation, (which was to have been carried to the caſtle) my trooper ſtopped in the High-ſtreet, and calling at a ſhop, aſked for the maſter of the houſe; who coming to the door, he delivered to him the Mittimus, and with it a letter from the Deputy-lieutenants, (or one of them) which when he had read, he aſked where the priſoner was. Whereupon the ſoldier, pointing to me, he deſired me to alight and come in; which when I did, he received me civilly.

The trooper, being diſcharged of his priſoner, marched back, and my father's man, ſeeing me ſettled in better quarters than he expected, mounted my horſe, and went off with him.

I did not preſently underſtand the quality of my keeper, but I found him a genteel courteous man, by trade a linen draper; and, as I afterwards underſtood, he was city-marſhal, had a command in the county troop, and was a perſon of good repute in the place; his name was ——— Galloway.

Whether I was committed to him out of regard to my father, that I might not be thruſt into a common gaol, or out of a politick deſign, to keep me from the converſation of my friends, in hopes that I might be drawn to abandon this profeſſion, which I had but lately taken up, I do not know. But this I know, that though I wanted no civil treatment, nor kind

accommodations where I was, yet after once I understood that many friends were priſoners in the caſtle, and amongſt the reſt Thomas Loe, I had much rather have been among them there, with all the inconveniencies they underwent, than where I was with the beſt entertainment. But this was my preſent lot, and therefore with this I endeavoured to be content.

It was quickly known in the city, that a Quaker was brought in priſoner, and committed to the Marſhal. Whereupon (the men friends being generally priſoners already in the caſtle) ſome of the women friends came to inquire after me, and to viſit me; as Silas Norton's wife, and Thomas Loe's wife, who were ſiſters, and another woman friend, who lived in the ſame ſtreet where I was, whoſe huſband was not a Quaker, but kindly affected towards them, a baker by trade, and his name, as I remember, ——— Ryland.

By ſome of theſe an account was ſoon given to the friends, who were priſoners in the caſtle, of my being taken up, and brought priſoner to the Marſhal's: whereupon it pleaſed the Lord to move on the heart of my dear friend Thomas Loe, to ſalute me with a very tender and affectionate letter, in the following terms:

'My beloved Friend,

'IN the truth and love of the Lord Jeſus, by 'which life and ſalvation is revealed in the ſaints, is 'my dear love unto thee, and in much tenderneſs 'do I ſalute thee. And, dear heart, a time

of

'of trial God hath permitted to come upon us, to 'try our faith and love to him; and this will work 'for the good of them, that through patience endure 'to the end. And I believe GOD will be glorified 'through our ſufferings, and his name will be exalted 'in the patience and long-ſuffering of his choſen. 'When I heard that thou waſt called into this trial, 'with the ſervants of the Moſt High, to give thy 'teſtimony to the truth of what we have believed, it 'came into my heart to write unto thee, and to greet 'thee with the embraces of the power of an endleſs 'life; where our faith ſtands, and unity is felt with 'the ſaints for ever. Well, my dear friend, let us 'live in the pure counſel of the Lord, and dwell in 'his ſtrength, which gives us power and ſufficiency 'to endure all things, for his name's ſake; and then 'our crown and reward will be with the Lord for 'ever, and the bleſſings of his heavenly kingdom will 'be our portion. Oh, dear heart, let us give up all 'freely into the will of God, that God may be glo-'rified by us, and we comforted together in the Lord 'Jeſus; which is the deſire of my ſoul, who am thy 'dear and loving friend in the eternal truth,

'THOMAS LOE.'

'We are more than forty here, who ſuffer inno-'cently for the teſtimony of a good conſcience, 'becauſe we cannot ſwear, and break Chriſt's 'commands: and we are all well; and the

'bleſſing

'blessing, and presence of God, is with us.'
'Friends here salute thee. Farewell!
'The power and the wisdom of the Lord God be
'with thee. Amen.'

Greatly was my spirit refreshed, and my heart gladded, at the reading of this consolating letter from my friend; and my soul blessed the Lord for his love and tender goodness to me, in moving his servant to write thus unto me.

But I had cause soon after to double and redouble my thankful acknowledgment to the Lord my God, who put it into the heart of my dear friend Isaac Penington also to visit me with some encouraging lines from Aylesbury gaol, where he was then a prisoner; and from whence (having heard that I was carried prisoner to Oxford) he thus saluted me:

'DEAR THOMAS,

'GREAT hath been the Lord's goodness to thee,
'in calling thee out of that path of vanity and death,
'wherein thou wast running towards destruction; to
'give thee a living name, and an inheritance of life
'among his people; which certainly will be the end
'of thy faith in him, and obedience to him. And
'let it not be a light thing in thine eyes, that he now
'accounteth thee worthy to suffer among his choice
'lambs, that he might make thy crown weightier, and
'thy inheritance the fuller. O that that eye and
'heart

'heart may be kept open in thee, which knoweth the 'value of theſe things! and that thou mayſt be kept 'cloſe to the feelings of the life, that thou mayſt be 'freſh in thy ſpirit in the midſt of thy ſufferings, and 'mayſt reap the benefit of them; finding that pared 'off thereby, which hindereth the bubblings of the 'everlaſting ſprings, and maketh unfit for the break-'ing forth and enjoyment of the pure power! This 'is the brief ſalutation of my dear love to thee, which 'deſireth thy ſtrength and ſettlement in the power, 'and the utter weakening of thee as to ſelf. My 'dear love is to thee, with dear Thomas Goodyare, 'and the reſt of impriſoned friends.

'I remain thine in the truth, to which the Lord 'my God preſerve thee ſingle and faithful.

From Ayleſbury Gaol, 'I. PENINGTON.'
the 14th of the 12th Month, 1660.

Though theſe epiſtolary viſits in the love of God were very comfortable and confirming to me, and my heart was thankful to the Lord for them; yet I honed after perſonal converſation with friends, and it was hard, I thought, that there ſhould be ſo many faithful ſervants of God ſo near me, yet I ſhould not be permitted to come at them, to enjoy their company, and reap both the pleaſure and benefit of their ſweet ſociety.

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For although my Marſhal-keeper was very kind to me, and allowed me the liberty of his houſe, yet he was not willing I ſhould be ſeen abroad; the rather, perhaps, becauſe he underſtood I had been pretty well known in that city. Yet once the friendly baker got him to let me ſtep over to his houſe; and once (and but once) I prevailed with him to let me viſit my friends in the caſtle; but it was with theſe conditions, that I ſhould not go forth till it was dark, that I would muffle myſelf up in my cloak, and that I would not ſtay out late: all which I punctually obſerved.

When I came thither, though there were many friends priſoners, I ſcarce knew one of them by face, except Thomas Loe, whom I had once ſeen at Iſaac Penington's; nor did any of them know me, though they had generally heard that ſuch a young man as I, was convinced of the truth, and come among friends.

Our ſalutation to each other was very grave and ſolemn; nor did we entertain one another with much talk, or with common diſcourſes; but moſt of the little time I had with them was ſpent in a ſilent retiredneſs of ſpirit, waiting upon the Lord. Yet, before we parted, we imparted one to another ſome of the exerciſes we had gone through; and they ſeeming willing to underſtand the ground and manner of my commitment, I gave them a brief account thereof, letting Thomas Loe more particularly know, that I had directed a letter to him, which having fallen into the hand of the Lord-lieutenant, was (ſo far as I

could

could learn) the immediate cauſe of my being taken up.

Having ſtaid with them as long as my limited time would permit (which I thought was but very ſhort) that I might keep touch with my keeper, and come home in due time, I took leave of my friends there, and with mutual embraces parting, returned to my (in ſome ſenſe more eaſy, but in others leſs eaſy) priſon, where, after this, I ſtaid not long before I was brought back to my father's houſe.

For after my father was come home, who, as I obſerved before, was from home when I was taken, he applied himſelf to thoſe juſtices that had committed me, and not having diſobliged them when he was in office, eaſily obtained to have me ſent home; which, between him and them, was thus contrived.

There was about this time a general muſter and training of the militia forces at Oxford, whither, on that occaſion, came the Lord-lieutenant and Deputy-lieutenants of the county, of which number they who committed me were two.

When they had been awhile together, and the Marſhal with them, he ſtepped ſuddenly in, and in haſte told me I muſt get ready quickly to go out of town, and that a ſoldier would come by and by to go with me. This ſaid, he haſtened to them again, not giving me any intimation how I was to go, or whither.

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needed not much time to get ready in; but I was uneasy in thinking what the friends of the town would think of this my sudden and private removal; and I feared least any report should be raised, that I had purchased my liberty by an unfaithful compliance. Wherefore I was in care how to speak with some friend about it; and that friendly baker, whose wife was a friend, living on the other side of the street at a little distance, I went out at a back door, intending to step over the way to their house, and return immediately.

It so fell out, that some of the Lieutenants (of whom esquire Clark, who committed me, was one) were standing in the balcony at a great inn or tavern, just over the place where I was to go by; and he spying me, called out to the soldiers, who stood thick in the street, to stop me. They being generally gentlemens servants, and many of them knowing me, did civilly forbear to lay hold on me, but calling modestly after me, said, 'Stay, Sir, stay; pray come back.' I heard, but was not willing to hear, therefore rather mended my pace, that I might have got within the door. But he calling earnestly after me, and charging them to stop me, some of them were fain to run, and laying hold on me before I could open the door, brought me back to my place again.

Being thus disappointed, I took a pen and ink, and wrote a few lines, which I sealed up, and gave to the apprentice in the shop, who had carried himself handsomely

ſomely towards me, and deſired him to deliver [illegible] that friend who was their neighbour, which he promiſed to do.

By that time I had done this came the ſoldier that was appointed to conduct me out of town. I knew the man, for he lived within a mile of me, being, through poverty, reduced to keep an ale-houſe; but he had lived in better faſhion, having kept an inn at Thame, and by that means knew how to behave himſelf civilly, and did ſo to me.

He told me he was ordered to wait on me to Wheatley, and to tarry there at ſuch an inn, until eſquire Clark came thither, who would then take me home with him in his coach. Accordingly to Wheatley we walked, (which is from Oxford ſome four or five miles) and long we had not been there before Clark, and a great company of rude men, came in.

He alighted, and ſtaid awhile to eat and drink, (though he came but from Oxford) and invited me to eat with him; but I, though I had need enough, refuſed it; for indeed their converſation was a burthen to my life, and made me often think of, and pity good Lot.

He ſeemed, at that time, to be in a ſort of mixed temper, between pleaſantneſs and ſourneſs. He would ſometimes joke, (which was natural to him) and caſt out a jeſting flirt at me; but he would rail maliciouſly againſt the Quakers. 'If,' ſaid he to me, 'the King 'would authorize me to do it, I would not leave a Quaker

[illegible]ker alive in England, except you. I would make no more,' added he, 'to ſet my piſtol to their ears, 'and ſhoot them through the head, than I would to 'kill a dog.' I told him I was ſorry he had ſo ill an opinion of the Quakers, but I was glad he had no cauſe for it, and I hoped he would be of a better mind.

I had in my hand a little walking ſtick, with a head on it, which he commended, and took out of my hand to look on it; but I ſaw his intention was to ſearch it, whether it had a tuck in it, for he tried to have drawn the head; but when he found it was faſt, he returned it to me.

He told me I ſhould ride with him to his houſe in his coach, which was nothing pleaſant to me; for I had rather have gone on foot, (as bad as the ways were) that I might have been out of his company. Wherefore I took no notice of any kindneſs in the offer, but only anſwered, I was at his diſpoſal, not mine own.

But when we were ready to go, the Marſhal came to me, and told me if I pleaſed I ſhould ride his horſe, and he would go in the coach with Mr. Clark. I was glad of the offer, and only told him he ſhould take out his piſtols then, for I would not ride with them. He took them out, and laid them in the coach by him, and away we went.

It was a very fine beaſt that I was ſet on, by much the beſt in the company. But though ſhe was very tall, yet the ways being very foul, I found it needful,

as

as ſoon as I was out of town, to alight and take up the ſtirrups. Mean while, they driving hard on, I was ſo far behind, that being at length miſſed by the company, a ſoldier was ſent back to look after me.

As ſoon as I had fitted my ſtirrups, and was remounted, I gave the rein to my mare, which being courageous and nimble, and impatient of delay, made great ſpeed to recover the company. And in a narrow paſſage the ſoldier, who was my barber, that had fetched me from home, and I, met upon ſo briſk a gallop, that we had enough to do on either ſide to take up our horſes and avoid a bruſh.

When we were come to Weſton, where Eſquire Clark lived, he took the Marſhal, and ſome others with him, into the parlour; but I was left in the hall, to be expoſed a ſecond time for the family to gaze on.

At length himſelf came out to me, leading in his hand a beloved daughter of his, a young woman of about eighteen years of age, who wanted nothing to have made her comely but gravity. An airy piece ſhe was, and very merry ſhe made herſelf at me. And when they had made themſelves as much ſport with me as they would, the Marſhal took his leave of them, and mounting me on a horſe of Clark's, had me home to my father's that night.

Next morning, before the Marſhal went away, my father and he conſulted together how to entangle me. I felt there were ſnares laid, but I did not know in what

[illegible] manner or to what end till the Marſhal was ready to go. And then, coming where I was to take his leave of me, he deſired me to take notice, that although he had brought me home to my father's houſe again, yet I was not diſcharged from my impriſonment, but was his priſoner ſtill; and that he had committed me to the care of my father, to ſee me forth coming whenever I ſhould be called for. And therefore he expected I ſhould in all things obſerve my father's orders, and not go out at any time from the houſe without his leave.

Now I plainly ſaw the ſnare, and to what end it was laid: and I aſked him if this device was not contrived to keep me from going to meetings: he ſaid I muſt not go to meetings. Whereupon I deſired him to take notice, that I would not own myſelf a priſoner to any man while I continued here. That if he had power to detain me priſoner, he might take me back again with him if he would, and I ſhould not refuſe to go with him. But I bid him aſſure himſelf, that while I was at home, I would take my liberty both to go to meetings, and to viſit friends. He ſmiled and ſaid if I would be reſolute, he could not help it; and ſo took his leave of me.

By this I perceived that the plot was of my father's laying, to have brought me under ſuch an engagement, as ſhould have tied me from going to meetings; and thereupon I expected I ſhould have a new exerciſe from my father.

It was the conſtant manner of my father to have all the keys of the out-doors of his houſe (which were four, and thoſe linked upon a chain) brought up into his chamber every night, and fetched out from thence in the morning; ſo that none could come in or go out in the night without his knowledge.

I knowing this, ſuſpected that if I got not out before my father came down, I ſhould be ſtopped from going out at all that day. Wherefore (the paſſage from my chamber lying by his chamber door) I went down ſoftly without my ſhoes, and as ſoon as the maid had opened the door, I went out, (though too early) and walked towards the meeting at Meadle, four long miles off.

I expected to have been talked with about it when I came home, but heard nothing of it, my father reſolving to watch me better next time.

This I was aware of; and therefore on the next firſt-day I got up early, went down ſoftly, and hid myſelf in a back room before the maid was ſtirring.

When ſhe was up, ſhe went into my father's chamber for the keys; but he bid her leave them till he was up, and he would bring them down himſelf; which he did, and tarried in the kitchen, through which he expected I would go.

The manner was, that when the common doors were opened, the keys were hung upon a pin in the hall. While therefore my father ſtaid in the kitchen expecting my coming, I, ſtepping gently out of the

room

room where I was, reached the keys, and opening another door, (not often uſed) ſlipped out, and ſo got away.

I thought I had gone off undiſcovered: but whether my father ſaw me through a window, or by what means he knew of my going, I know not; but I had gone but a little way before I ſaw him coming after me.

The ſight of him put me to a ſtand in my mind whether I ſhould go on or ſtop. Had it been in any other caſe than that of going to a meeting, I could not in any wiſe have gone a ſtep further. But I conſidered that the intent of my father's endeavouring to ſtop me was to hinder me from obeying the call of my heavenly Father, and to ſtop me from going to worſhip him in the aſſembly of his people; upon this I found it my duty to go on, and obſerving that my father gained ground upon me, I ſomewhat mended my pace.

This he obſerving, mended his pace alſo, and at length ran. Whereupon I ran alſo, and a fair courſe we had through a large meadow of his, which lay behind his houſe, and out of ſight of the town. He was not, I ſuppoſe, then above fifty years of age, and being light of body, and nimble of foot, he held me to it for a while. But afterwards ſlacking his pace to take breath, and obſerving that I had gotten ground of him, he turned back and went home; and (as I afterwards underſtood) telling my ſiſters how I had

ſerved

ſerved him, he ſaid, 'Nay, if he will take ſo much 'pains to go, let him go if he will.' And from that time forward he never attempted to ſtop me, but left me to my liberty, to go when and whither I would; yet kept me at the uſual diſtance, avoiding the ſight of me as much as he could, as not able to bear the ſight of my hat on, nor willing to contend with me again about it.

Nor was it long after this before I was left not only to myſelf, but in a manner by myſelf. For the time appointed for the coronation of the king (which was the 23d of the ſecond month, called April) drawing on, my father, taking my two ſiſters with him, went up to London ſome time before, that they might be there in readineſs, and put themſelves into a condition to ſee that ſo great a ſolemnity, leaving no body in the houſe but myſelf and a couple of ſervants. And though this was intended only for a viſit on that occaſion, yet it proved the breaking of the family; for he beſtowed both his daughters there in marriage, and took lodgings for himſelf, ſo that afterwards they never returned to ſettle at Crowell.

Being now at liberty, I walked over to Ayleſbury, with ſome other friends, to viſit my dear friend Iſaac Penington, who was ſtill a priſoner there. With him I found dear John Whitehead, and between ſixty and ſeventy more, being well nigh all the men friends that were then in the county of Bucks; many of them were taken out of their houſes by armed men, and

ſent to priſon (as I had been) for refuſing to ſwear. Moſt of theſe were thruſt into an old room behind the gaol, which had anciently been a malt-houſe, but was now ſo decayed, that it was ſcarce fit for a dog-houſe. And ſo open it lay, that the priſoners might have gone out at pleaſure. But theſe were purpoſely put there, in confidence that they would not go out, that there might be room in the priſon for others, of other profeſſions and names, whom the gaoler did not truſt there.

While this impriſonment laſted, which was for ſome months, I went afterwards thither ſometimes to viſit my ſuffering brethren; and becauſe it was a pretty long way, (ſome eight or nine miles) too far to be walked forward and backward in one day, I ſometimes ſtaid a day or two there, and lay in the malt-houſe among my friends, with whom I delighted to be.

After this impriſonment was over, I went ſometimes to Iſaac Penington's houſe at Chalfont, to viſit that family, and the friends thereabouts. There was then a meeting, for the moſt part, twice a week in his houſe; but one firſt-day in four there was a more general meeting, (which was thence called the Monthly-meeting) to which reſorted moſt of the friends of other adjacent meetings; and to that I uſually went, and ſometimes made ſome ſtay there.

Here I came acquainted with a friend of London, whoſe name was Richard Greenaway, by trade a taylor,

taylor, a very honeſt man, and one who had received a gift for the miniſtry.

He, having been formerly in other profeſſions of religion, had then been acquainted with one John Ovy, of Watlington, in Oxfordſhire, (a man of ſome note among the profeſſors there) and underſtanding, upon inquiry, that I knew him, he had ſome diſcourſe with me about him. The reſult whereof was, that he, having an intention then ſhortly to viſit ſome meetings of friends in this county, and the adjoining parts of Oxfordſhire and Berkſhire, invited me to meet him, (upon notice given) and to bear him company in that journey; and in the way bring him to John Ovy's houſe, with whom I was well acquainted; which I did.

We were kindly received, the man and his wife being very glad to ſee both their old friend Richard Greenaway, and me alſo, whom they had been very well acquainted with formerly, but had never ſeen me ſince I was a Quaker.

Here we tarried that night, and in the evening had a little meeting there with ſome few of John Ovy's people, amongſt whom Richard Greenaway declared the TRUTH; which they attentively heard, and did not oppoſe, which at that time of day we reckoned was pretty well; for many were apt to cavil.

This viſit gave John Ovy an opportunity to inquire of me after Iſaac Penington, whoſe writings (thoſe which he had written before he came among friends)

he had read, and had a great eſteem of, and he expreſſed a deſire to ſee him, that he might have ſome diſcourſe with him, if he knew how. Whereupon I told him, that if he would take the pains to go to his houſe, I would bear him company thither, introduce him, and engage he ſhould have a kind reception.

This pleaſed him much; and he embracing the offer, I undertook to give him notice of a ſuitable time; which (after I had gone this little journey with my friend Richard Greenaway, and was returned) I did, making choice of the Monthly-meeting to go to.

We met by appointment at Stoken Church, with our ſtaves in our hands, like a couple of pilgrims, intending to walk on foot; and having taken ſome refreſhment and reſt at Wycombe, went on cheerfully in the afternoon, entertaining each other with grave and religious diſcourſe, which made the walk the eaſier, and ſo reached thither in good time, on the ſeventh day of the week.

I gave my friends an account who this perſon was, whom I had brought to viſit them, and the ground of his viſit. He had been a profeſſor of religion, from his childhood to his old age, (for he was now both grey-headed and elderly) and was a teacher at this time, and had long been ſo amongſt a people, whether Independants or Baptiſts I do not well remember. And ſo well thought of he was, for his zeal and honeſty, that in thoſe late profeſſing times, he was thruſt into the commiſſion of the peace, and thereby lifted

up

up on the bench; which neither became him nor he it: for he wanted indeed moſt of the qualifications requiſite for a juſtice of the peace; an eſtate to defray the charge of the office, and to bear him up in a courſe of living above contempt; a competent knowledge in the laws, and a preſence of mind or body, or both, to keep offenders in ſome awe; in all which he was deficient. For he was but a fell-monger by trade, accuſtomed to ride upon his pack of ſkins, and had very little eſtate, as little knowledge of the law, and of but a mean preſence and appearance to look on. But as my father, I ſuppoſe, was the means of getting him put into the commiſſion, ſo he, I know, did what he could to countenance him in it, and help him through it at every turn, till that turn came (at the King's return) which turned them both out together.

My friends received me in affectionate kindneſs, and my companion with courteous civility. The evening was ſpent in common, but grave converſation; for it was not a proper ſeaſon for private diſcourſe, both as we were ſomewhat weary with our walk, and there were other companies of friends come into the family, to be at the meeting next day.

But in the morning I took John Ovy into a private walk, in a pleaſant grove near the houſe, whither Iſaac Penington came to us; and there, in diſcourſe, both anſwered all his queſtions, objections, and doubts, and opened to him the principles of TRUTH, to his

both admiration and preſent ſatisfaction. Which done, we went in to take ſome refreſhment before the meeting began.

Of thoſe friends who were come over night, in order to be at the meeting, there was Iſaac's brother, William Penington, a merchant of London, and with him a friend, (whoſe name I have forgotten) a grocer of Colcheſter, in Eſſex; and there was alſo our friend George Whitehead, whom I had not, that I remember, ſeen before.

The nation had been in a ferment ever ſince that mad action of the frantick Fifth-monarchy-men, and was not yet ſettled; but ſtorms, like thunder ſhowers, flew here and there by coaſt, ſo that we could not promiſe ourſelves any ſafety or quiet in our meetings. And though they had eſcaped diſturbance for ſome little time before, yet ſo it fell out, that a party of horſe were appointed to come and break up the meeting that day, though we knew nothing of it, till we heard and ſaw them.

The meeting was ſcarce fully gathered when they came. But we that were in the family, and many others, were ſettled in it in great peace and ſtillneſs, when on a ſudden the prancing of the horſes gave notice that a diſturbance was at hand.

We all ſat ſtill in our places, except my companion John Ovy, who ſat next to me. But he being of a profeſſion that approved Peter's advice to his Lord, 'To ſave himſelf,' ſoon took the alarm, and with the nimbleneſs

nimbleneſs of a ſtripling, cutting a caper over the form that ſtood before him, ran quickly out at a private door, (which he had before obſerved) which led through the parlour into the gardens, and from thence into an orchard; where he hid himſelf in a place ſo obſcure, and withal ſo convenient for his intelligence by obſervation of what paſſed, that no one of the family could ſcarce have found a likelier.

By that time he was got into his burrow, came the ſoldiers in, being a party of the county troop, commanded by Matthew Archdale, of Wycombe. He behaved himſelf civilly, and ſaid, he was commanded to break up the meeting, and carry the men before a juſtice of the peace; but he ſaid he would not take all; and thereupon began to pick and chooſe, chiefly as his eye guided him, for I ſuppoſe he knew very few.

He took Iſaac Penington and his brother, George Whitehead, and the friend of Colcheſter, and me, with three or four more of the country, who belonged to that meeting.

He was not fond of the work, and that made him take no more. But he muſt take ſome, he ſaid, and bid us provide to go with him before Sir William Boyer, of Denham, who was a juſtice of the peace. Iſaac Penington being but weakly, rode, but the reſt of us walked thither, it being about four miles.

When we came there, the juſtice carried himſelf civilly to us all, courteouſly to Iſaac Penington, as

being a gentleman of his neighbourhood, and there was nothing charged againſt us, but that we were met together without word or deed. Yet this being contrary to a late proclamation (given forth upon the riſing of the Fifth-monarchy-men) whereby all diſſenters meetings were forbidden, the juſtice could do no leſs than take notice of us.

Wherefore he examined all of us (whom he did not perſonally know) aſking our names, and the places of our reſpective habitations. But when he had them, and conſidered from what diſtant parts of the nation we came, he was amazed. For George Whitehead was of Weſtmoreland, in the north of England; the grocer was of Eſſex; I was of Oxfordſhire; and William Penington was of London.

Hereupon he told us, that our caſe looked ill, and he was ſorry for it: 'for how,' ſaid he, 'can it be 'imagined that ſo many could jump altogether at one 'time and place, from ſuch remote quarters and parts 'of the kingdom, if it was not by combination and 'appointment?'

He was anſwered, that we were ſo far from coming thither by agreement or appointment, that none of us knew of the others coming, and for the moſt of us, we had never ſeen one another before; and that therefore he might impute it to chance, or, if he pleaſed to Providence.

He urged upon us, that an inſurrection had been lately made by armed men, who pretended to be more religious

religious than others; that that inſurrection had been plotted and contrived in their meeting-houſe, where they aſſembled under colour of worſhipping GOD; that in their meeting-houſe they hid their arms, and armed themſelves, and out of their meeting-houſe iſſued forth in arms, and killed many; ſo that the government could not be ſafe, unleſs ſuch meetings were ſuppreſt.

We replied, we hoped he would diſtinguiſh and make a difference between the guilty and the innocent, and between thoſe who were principled for fighting, and thoſe who were principled againſt it; which we were, and had been always known to be ſo. That our meetings were publick, our doors ſtanding open to all comers, of all ages, ſexes, and perſuaſions; men, women, and children, and thoſe that were not of our religion, as well as thoſe that were; and that it was next to madneſs for people to plot in ſuch meetings.

He told us, we muſt find ſureties for our good behaviour, and to anſwer our contempt of the King's proclamation at the next General Quarter Seſſions, or elſe he muſt commit us.

We told him, that knowing our innocency, and that we had not miſbehaved ourſelves, nor did meet in contempt of the King's authority, but purely in obedience to the LORD's requirings, to worſhip Him, which we held ourſelves in duty bound to do, we could

not conſent to be bound, for that would imply guilt, which we were free from.

'Then,' ſaid he, 'I muſt commit you:' and ordered his clerk to make a Mittimus. And divers Mittimuſſes were made, but none of them would hold; for ſtill, when they came to be read, we found ſuch flaws in them, as made him throw them aſide, and write more.

He had his eye often upon me, for I was a young man, and had at that time a black ſuit on. At length he bid me follow him, and went into a private room, and ſhut the door upon me.

I knew not what he meant by this; but I cried in ſpirit to the Lord, that he would be pleaſed to be a mouth and wiſdom to me, and keep me from being intangled in any ſnare.

He aſked me many queſtions concerning my birth, my education, my acquaintance in Oxfordſhire, particularly what men of note I knew there. To all which I gave him brief, but plain and true anſwers, naming ſeveral families of the beſt rank in that part of the country where I dwelt.

He aſked me how long I had been of this way, and how I came to be of it. Which when I had given him ſome account of, he began to perſuade me to leave it, and return to the right way, (the Church, as he called it.) I deſired him to ſpare his pains in that reſpect, and forbear any diſcourſe of that kind, for that I was fully ſatisfied the way I was in was the

right

right way, and hoped the Lord would ſo preſerve me in it, that nothing ſhould be able to draw or drive me out of it. He ſeemed not pleaſed with that, and thereupon went out to the reſt of the company, and I followed him, glad in my heart that I had eſcaped ſo well, and praiſing God for my deliverance.

When he had taken his ſeat again at the upper end of a fair hall, he told us he was not willing to take the utmoſt rigour of the law againſt us, but would be as favourable to us as he could. And therefore he would diſcharge, he ſaid, Mr. Penington himſelf, becauſe he was but at home in his own houſe. And he would diſcharge Mr. Penington of London, becauſe he came but as a relation to viſit his brother. And he would diſcharge the grocer of Colcheſter, becauſe he came to bear Mr. Penington of London company, and to be acquainted with Mr. Iſaac Penington, whom he had never ſeen before. And as for thoſe others of us, who were of this country, he would diſcharge them, for the preſent at leaſt, becauſe they being his neighbours, he could ſend for them when he would. 'But 'as for you,' ſaid he to George Whitehead and me, 'I can ſee no buſineſs you had there, and therefore I 'intend to hold you to it, either to give bail, or go 'to gaol.'

We told him we could not give bail. 'Then,' ſaid he, 'you muſt go to gaol;' and thereupon he began to write our Mittimus; which puzzled him again. For he had diſcharged ſo many, that he was

at a loſs what to lay as the ground of our commitment, whoſe caſe differed nothing in reality from theirs whom he had diſcharged.

At length, having made divers draughts (which ſtill George Whitehead ſhewed him the defects of) he ſeemed to be weary of us; and riſing up ſaid unto us, 'I conſider that it is grown late in the day, ſo that 'the officer cannot carry you to Ayleſbury to-night, 'and I ſuppoſe you will be willing to go back with 'Mr. Penington; therefore if you will promiſe to be 'forth coming at his houſe to-morrow morning, I 'will diſmiſs you for the preſent, and you ſhall hear 'from me again to-morrow.'

We told him we did intend, if he did not otherwiſe diſpoſe of us, to ſpend that night with our friend Iſaac Penington, and would, if the LORD gave us leave, be there in the morning, ready to anſwer his requirings. Whereupon he diſmiſſed us all, willing, as we thought, to be rid of us; for he ſeemed not to be of an ill temper, nor deſirous to put us to trouble, if he could help it.

Back then we went to Iſaac Penington's. But when we were come thither, O the work we had with poor John Ovy! He was ſo dejected in mind, ſo covered with ſhame and confuſion of face for his cowardlineſs, that we had enough to do to pacify him towards himſelf.

The place he had found out to ſhelter himſelf in was ſo commodiouſly contrived, that undiſcovered he could

could diſcern when the ſoldiers went off with us, and underſtand when the buſtle was over, and the coaſt clear. Whereupon he adventured to peep out of his hole, and in a while drew near, by degrees, to the houſe again; and finding all things quiet and ſtill, he adventured to ſtep within the doors, and found the friends, who were left behind, peaceably ſettled in the meeting again.

The ſight of this ſmote him, and made him ſit down among them. And after the meeting was ended, and the friends departed to their ſeveral homes, addreſſing himſelf to Mary Penington, (as the miſtreſs of the houſe) he could not enough magnify the bravery and courage of the friends, nor ſufficiently debaſe himſelf. He told her how long he had been a profeſſor, what pains he had taken, what hazards he had run, in his youthful days, to get to meetings; how, when the ways were forelaid, and paſſages ſtopped, he ſwam through rivers to reach a meeting; and now, ſaid he, that I am grown old in the profeſſion of religion, and have long been an inſtructor and encourager of others, that I ſhould thus ſhamefully fall ſhort myſelf, is matter of ſhame and ſorrow to me.

Thus he bewailed himſelf to her. And when we came back, he renewed his complaints of himſelf to us, with high aggravations of his own cowardice. Which gave occaſion to ſome of the friends, tenderly to repreſent to him the difference between profeſſion and poſſeſſion, form and power.

He

He was glad, he ſaid, on our behalfs, that we came off ſo well, and eſcaped impriſonment.

But when he underſtood that George Whitehead and I were liable to an after-reckoning next morning, he was troubled, and wiſhed the morning was come and gone, that we might be gone with it.

We ſpent the evening in grave converſation, and in religious diſcourſes, attributing the deliverance, we hitherto had, to the LORD. And the next morning, when we were up and had eaten, we tarried ſome time to ſee what the juſtice would do further with us, and to diſcharge our engagement to him; the reſt of the friends, who were before fully diſcharged, tarrying alſo with us to ſee the event.

And when we had ſtaid ſo long, that on all hands it was concluded we might ſafely go, George Whitehead and I left a few words in writing, to be ſent to the juſtice, if he ſent after us, importing that we had tarried till ſuch an hour, and not hearing from him, did now hold ourſelves free to depart; yet ſo, as that if he ſhould have occaſion to ſend for us again, upon notice thereof we would return.

This done, we took our leave of the family, and one of another; they who were for London taking horſe, and I and my companion, ſetting forth on foot for Oxfordſhire, went to Wycombe, where we made a ſhort ſtay to reſt and refreſh ourſelves, and from thence reached our reſpective homes that night.

After

After I had ſpent ſome time at home, where, as I had no reſtraint, ſo (my ſiſters being gone) I had now no ſociety, I walked up to Chalfont again, and ſpent a few days with my friends there.

As ſoon as I came in, I was told that my father had been there that day to ſee Iſaac Penington and his wife; but they being abroad at a meeting, he returned to his inn in the town, where he intended to lodge that night. After ſupper Mary Penington told me, ſhe had a mind to go and ſee him at his inn, (the woman of the houſe being a friend of ours) and I went with her. He ſeemed ſomewhat ſurpriſed to ſee me there, becauſe he thought I had been at home at his houſe; but he took no notice of my hat, at leaſt ſhewed no offence at it; for, as I afterwards underſtood, he had now an intention to ſell his eſtate, and thought he ſhould need my concurrence therein, which made him now hold it neceſſary to admit me again into ſome degree of favour. After we had tarried ſome little time with him, ſhe riſing up to be gone, he waited on her home, and having ſpent about an hour with us in the family, I waited on him back to his inn. On the way, he invited me to come up to London to ſee my ſiſters, the younger of whom was then newly married, and directed me where to find them, and alſo gave me money to defray my charges. Accordingly I went; yet ſtaid not long there, but returned to my friend Iſaac Penington's, where I made

made a little ſtay, and from thence went back to Crowell.

When I was ready to ſet forth, my friend Iſaac Penington was ſo kind to ſend a ſervant, with a brace of geldings, to carry me as far as I thought fit to ride, and to bring the horſes back. I, intending to go no farther that day than to Wycombe, rode no farther than to Beaconsfield town's end, having then but five miles to walk. But here a new exerciſe befel me, the manner of which was thus:

Before I had walked to the middle of the town, I was ſtopped and taken up by the watch. I aſked the watchman what authority he had to ſtop me, travelling peaceably on the highway: he told me he would ſhew me his authority; and in order thereunto, had me into an houſe hard by, where dwelt a ſcrivener whoſe name was Pepys. To him he gave the order which he had received from the conſtables, which directed him to take up all rogues, vagabonds, and ſturdy beggars. I aſked him for which of theſe he ſtopped me, but he could not anſwer me.

I thereupon informed him what a rogue in law is, viz. One, who for ſome notorious offence was burnt on the ſhoulder: and I told them they might ſearch me if they pleaſed, and ſee if I was ſo branded. A vagabond, I told them, was one that had no dwelling-houſe, nor certain place of abode; but I had, and was going to it, and I told them where it was. And

for

for a beggar, I bid them bring any one that could ſay I had begged, or aſked relief.

This ſtopped the fellow's mouth, yet he would not let me go; but, being both weakheaded, and ſtrong-willed, he left me there with the ſcrivener, and went out to ſeek the conſtable, and having found him, brought him thither. He was a young man, by trade a tanner, ſomewhat better mannered than his wardſman, but not of much better judgment.

He took me with him to his houſe. And having ſettled me there, went out to take advice, as I ſuppoſed, what to do with me; leaving no body in the houſe to guard me but his wife, who had a young child in her arms.

She inquired of me upon what account I was taken up, and ſeeming to have ſome pity for me, endeavoured to perſuade me not to ſtay, but to go my way, offering to ſhew me a back way from their houſe, which would bring me into the road again beyond the town, ſo that none of the town ſhould ſee me, or know what was become of me. But I told her I could not do ſo.

Then having ſat a while in a muze, ſhe aſked me if there was not a place of Scripture which ſaid Peter was at a tanner's houſe: I told her there was ſuch a ſcripture, and directed her where to find it.

After ſome time ſhe laid her child to ſleep in the cradle, and ſtepped out on a ſudden, but came not in again in a pretty while.

I was

I was uneaſy that I was left alone in the houſe, fearing leſt if any thing ſhould be miſſing I might be ſuſpected to have taken it; yet I durſt not go out to ſtand in the ſtreet, leſt it ſhould be thought I intended to ſlip away.

But beſides that, I ſoon found work to employ myſelf in; for the child quickly waking, fell to crying, and I was fain to rock the cradle in my own defence, that I might not be annoyed with a noiſe, to me not more unpleaſant than unuſual. At length the woman came in again, and finding me nurſing the child, gave me many thanks, and ſeemed well pleaſed with my company.

When night came on, the conſtable himſelf came in again, and told me ſome of the chief of the town were met together, to conſider what was fit to do with me, and that I muſt go with him to them. I went, and he brought me to a little nafty hut, which they called a town-houſe, (adjoining to their market-houſe) in which dwelt a poor old woman, whom they called Mother Grime, where alſo the watch uſed by turns to come in and warm themſelves in the night.

When I came in among them, they looked (ſome of them) ſomewhat ſourly on me, and aſked me ſome impertinent queſtions, to which I gave them ſuitable anſwers.

Then they conſulted one with another how they ſhould diſpoſe of me that night, till they could have me before ſome juſtice of peace to be examined.

Some

Some propoſed that I ſhould be had to ſome inn, or other publick houſe, and a guard ſet on me there. He that ſtarted this was probably an inn-keeper, and conſulted his own intereſt. Others objected againſt this, that it would bring a charge on the town. To avoid which, they were for having the watch take charge of me, and keep me walking about the ſtreets with them till morning. Moſt voices ſeemed to go this way; till a third wiſhed them to conſider whether they could anſwer the doing of that, and the law would bear them out in it: and this put them to a ſtand. I heard all their debates, but let them alone, and kept my mind to the LORD.

While they thus bandied the matter to and fro, one of the company aſked the reſt, if any of them knew who this young man was, and whither he was going: whereupon the conſtable (to whom I had given both my name, and the name of the town where I dwelt) told them my name was Ellwood, and that I lived at a town called Crowell in Oxfordſhire.

Old Mother Grime, ſitting by and hearing this, clapped her hand on her knee, and cried out, 'I know 'Mr. Ellwood of Crowell very well; for when I was 'a maid I lived with his grandfather there, when he 'was a young man.' And thereupon ſhe gave them ſuch an account of my father, as made them look more regardfully on me; and ſo Mother Grime's teſtimony turned the ſcale, and took me off from walking the rounds with the watch that night.

The

The conſtable hereupon bid them take no further care, I ſhould lie at his houſe that night, and accordingly took me home with him, where I had as good accommodation as the houſe did afford. Before I went to bed, he told me, that there was to be a viſitation, or ſpiritual court, (as he called it) holden next day at Amerſham, about four miles from Beaconsfield, and that I was to be carried thither.

This was a new thing to me, and it brought a freſh exerciſe upon my mind. But being given up, in the will of God, to ſuffer what he ſhould permit to be laid on me, I endeavoured to keep my mind quiet and ſtill.

In the morning, as ſoon as I was up, my ſpirit was exerciſed towards the Lord, in ſtrong cries to him, that he would ſtand by me, and preſerve me, and not ſuffer me to be taken in the ſnare of the wicked. While I was thus crying to the LORD, the other conſtable came, and I was called down.

This was a budge fellow, and talked high. He was a ſhoe-maker by trade, and his name was Clark. He threatened me with the Spiritual Court. But when he ſaw I did not regard it, he ſtopped, and left the matter to his partner, who pretended more kindneſs for me, and therefore went about to perſuade Clark to let me go out at the back door, ſo ſlip away.

The plot, I ſuppoſe, was ſo laid, that Clark ſhould ſeem averſe, but at length yield, which he did; but would have me take it for a favour. But I was ſo far

far from taking it ſo, that I would not take it at all, but told them plainly, that as I came in at the fore door, ſo I would go out at the fore door. When therefore they ſaw they could not bow me to their will, they brought me out at the fore door into the ſtreet, and wiſhed me a good journey. Yet before I went, calling for the woman of the houſe, I paid her for my ſupper and lodging, for I had now got a little money in my pocket again.

After this I got home, as I thought, very well, but I had not been long at home before an illneſs ſeized on me, which proved to be the ſmall-pox. Of which, ſo ſoon as friends had notice, I had a nurſe ſent me; and in a while Iſaac Penington, and his wife's daughter Gulielma Maria Springett, (to whom I had been playfellow in our infancy) came to viſit me, bringing with them our dear friend Edward Burrough, by whoſe miniſtry I was called to the knowledge of the truth.

It pleaſed the Lord to deal favourably with me in this illneſs, both inwardly and outwardly. For his ſupporting preſence was with me, which kept my ſpirit near unto him; and though the diſtemper was ſtrong upon me, yet I was preſerved through it, and my countenance was not much altered by it. But after I was got up again, and while I kept my chamber, wanting ſome employment for entertainment's ſake, to ſpend the time with, and there being at hand a pretty good library of books, (amongſt which were the works

works of Auguſtine, and others of thoſe ancient writers, who were by many called the fathers) I betook myſelf to reading. And theſe books being printed in the old black letter, with abbreviations of the words, difficult to be read, I ſpent too much time therein, and thereby much impaired my ſight, which was not ſtrong before, and was now weaker than uſual, by reaſon of the illneſs I had ſo newly had, which proved an injury to me afterwards; for which reaſon I here mention it.

After I was well enough to go abroad, with reſpect to my own health, and the ſafety of others, I went up (in the beginning of the twelfth month, 1661) to my friend Iſaac Penington's at Chalfont, and abode there ſome time, for the airing myſelf more fully, that I might be more fit for converſation.

I mentioned before, that when I was a boy, I had made ſome good progreſs in learning, and loſt it all again before I came to be a man; nor was I rightly ſenſible of my loſs therein, until I came amongſt the Quakers. But then I both ſaw my loſs, and lamented it; and applied myſelf with utmoſt diligence, at all leiſure times, to recover it; ſo falſe I found that charge to be, which in thoſe times was caſt as a reproach upon the Quakers, that they deſpiſed and decried all human learning, becauſe they denied it to be eſſentially neceſſary to a goſpel miniſtry, which was one of the controverſies of thoſe times.

But

But though I toiled hard, and ſpared no pains to regain what once I had been maſter of; yet I found it a matter of ſo great difficulty, that I was ready to ſay as the noble eunuch to Philip in another caſe, 'How 'can I, unleſs I had ſome man to guide me?'

This I had formerly complained of to my eſpecial friend Iſaac Penington, but now more earneſtly, which put him upon conſidering, and contriving a means for my aſſiſtance.

He had an intimate acquaintance with Dr. Paget, a phyſician of note in London, and he with John Milton, a gentleman of great note for learning throughout the learned world, for the accurate pieces he had written on various ſubjects and occaſions.

This perſon, having filled a publick ſtation in the former times, lived now a private and retired life in London, and having wholly loſt his ſight, kept always a man to read to him, which uſually was the ſon of ſome gentleman of his acquaintance, whom, in kindneſs, he took to improve in his learning.

Thus, by the mediation of my friend Iſaac Penington with Dr. Paget, and of Dr. Paget with John Milton, was I admitted to come to him, not as a ſervant to him, (which at that time he needed not) nor to be in the houſe with him, but only to have the liberty of coming to his houſe at certain hours when I would, and to read to him what books he ſhould appoint me, which was all the favour I deſired.

But

But this being a matter which would require ſome time to bring it about, I, in the mean while, returned to my father's houſe in Oxfordſhire.

I had before received direction, by letters from my eldeſt ſiſter, (written by my father's command) to put off what cattle he had left about his houſe, and to diſcharge his ſervants; which I had done at the time called Michaelmas before. So that all that winter, when I was at home, I lived like an hermit all alone, having a pretty large houſe, and nobody in it but myſelf, at nights eſpecially; but an elderly woman, whoſe father had been an old ſervant to the family, came every morning and made my bed, and did what elſe I had occaſion for her to do, till I fell ill of the ſmall-pox, and then I had her with me, and the nurſe. But now, underſtanding by letter from my ſiſter, that my father did not intend to return to ſettle there, I made off thoſe proviſions which were in the houſe, that they might not be ſpoiled when I was gone; and becauſe they were what I ſhould have ſpent, if I had tarried there, I took the money made of them to myſelf, for my ſupport at London, if the project ſucceeded for my going thither.

This done, I committed the care of the houſe to a tenant of my father's, who lived in the town, and taking my leave of Crowell, went up to my ſure friend Iſaac Penington again. Where underſtanding that the mediation uſed for my admittance to John Milton, had ſucceeded ſo well, that I might come

when

when I would, I haſtened to London, and in the firſt place went to wait upon him.

He received me courteouſly, as well for the ſake of Dr. Paget, who introduced me, as of Iſaac Penington, who recommended me; to both whom he bore a good reſpect. And having inquired divers things of me, with reſpect to my former progreſſion in learning, he diſmiſſed me, to provide myſelf of ſuch accommodations as might be moſt ſuitable to my future ſtudies.

I went therefore and took myſelf a lodging as near to his houſe (which was then in Jewyn-ſtreet) as conveniently as I could, and from thenceforward went every day in the afternoon, except on the firſt-days of the week, and ſitting by him in his dining room, read to him in ſuch books in the Latin tongue as he pleaſed to hear me read.

At my firſt ſitting to read to him, obſerving that I uſed the Engliſh pronunciation, he told me, if I would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and underſtand Latin authors, but to converſe with foreigners, either abroad or at home, I muſt learn the foreign pronunciation. To this I conſenting, he inſtructed me how to ſound the vowels; ſo different from the common pronunciation uſed by the Engliſh, who ſpeak Anglice their Latin, that (with ſome few other variations in ſounding ſome conſonants, in particular caſes; as C before E or I, like Ch. Sc before I, like Sh, &c.) the Latin thus ſpoken, ſeemed as different from that which was

delivered, as the Engliſh generally ſpeak it, as if it were another language.

I had before, during my retired life at my father's, by unwearied diligence and induſtry, ſo far recovered the rules of grammar (in which I had once been very ready) that I could both read a Latin author, and after a ſort hammer out his meaning. But this change of pronunciation proved a new difficulty to me. It was now harder to me to read, than it was before to underſtand when read. But

——— *Labor omnia vincit*
Improbus. ———

Inceſſant pains,
The end obtains,

And ſo did I. Which made my reading the more acceptable to my maſter. He, on the other hand, perceiving with what earneſt deſire I purſued learning, gave me not only all the encouragement, but all the help he could. For, having a curious ear, he underſtood by my tone, when I underſtood what I read, and when I did not; and accordingly would ſtop me, examine me, and open the moſt difficult paſſages to me.

Thus went I on for about ſix weeks time, reading to him in the afternoons; and exerciſing myſelf with my

my own books, in my chamber in the forenoons, I was ſenſible of an improvement.

But, alas! I had fixed my ſtudies in a wrong place. London and I could never agree for health; my lungs, as I ſuppoſe, were too tender to bear the ſulphurous air of that city, ſo that I ſoon began to droop; and in leſs than two months time, I was fain to leave both my ſtudies and the city, and return into the country to preſerve life; and much ado I had to get thither.

I choſe to go down to Wycombe, and to John Rance's houſe there; both as he was a phyſician, and his wife an honeſt, hearty, diſcreet, and grave matron, whom I had a very good eſteem of, and who I knew had a good regard for me.

There I lay ill a conſiderable time, and to that degree of weakneſs, that ſcarce any who ſaw me, expected my life. But the Lord was both gracious to me in my illneſs, and was pleaſed to raiſe me up again, that I might ſerve him in my generation.

As ſoon as I had recovered ſo much ſtrength as to be fit to travel, I obtained of my father (who was then at his houſe in Crowell, to diſpoſe of ſome things he had there, and who in my illneſs had come to ſee me) ſo much money as would clear all charges in the houſe, for both phyſick, food, and attendance; and having fully diſcharged all, I took leave of my friends in that family, and in the town, and returned to my ſtudies at London.

I was very kindly received by my maſter, who had conceived ſo good an opinion of me, that my converſation, I found, was acceptable to him, and he ſeemed heartily glad of my recovery and return; and into our old method of ſtudy we fell again, I reading to him, and he explaining to me, as occaſion required.

But, as if learning had been a forbidden fruit to me, ſcarce was I well ſettled in my work, before I met with another diverſion, which turned me quite out of my work.

For a ſudden ſtorm ariſing, from I know not what ſurmiſe of a plot, and thereby danger to the government; and the meetings of Diſſenters (ſuch I mean as could be found, which perhaps were not many beſides the Quakers) were broken up throughout the city, and the priſons moſtly filled with our friends.

I was that morning, which was the 26th day of the eighth month, 1662, at the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, by Alderſgate, when on a ſudden, a party of ſoldiers (of the trained bands of the city) ruſhed in, with noiſe and clamour, being led by one who was called Major Roſewell, an apothecary, (if I miſremember not) and at that time under the ill name of a Papiſt.

As ſoon as he was come within the room, having a file or two of muſketteers at his heels, he commanded his men to preſent their muſkets at us, which they did; with intent, I ſuppoſe, to ſtrike a terror into the people.

ple. Then he made a proclamation, that all who were not Quakers, might depart if they would.

It ſo happened, that a young man, an apprentice in London, whoſe name was —— Dove, (the ſon of Dr. Dove, of Chinner, near Crowell, in Oxfordſhire) came that day, in curioſity, to ſee the meeting, and coming early, and finding me there (whom he knew) came and ſat down by me.

As ſoon as he heard the noiſe of ſoldiers, he was much ſtartled, and aſked me ſoftly if I would not ſhift for myſelf, and try to get out. I told him no; I was in my place, and was willing to ſuffer if it was my lot. When he heard the notice given, that they who were not Quakers might depart, he ſolicited me again to be gone. I told him I could not do ſo, for that would be to renounce my profeſſion, which I would by no means do. But as for him, who was not one of us, he might do as he pleaſed. Whereupon, wiſhing me well, he turned away, and with cap in hand went out. And truly I was glad he was gone, for his maſter was a rigid Preſbyterian, who, in all likelihood, would have led him a wretched life, had he been taken and impriſoned among the Quakers.

The ſoldiers came ſo early, that the meeting was not fully gathered when they came; and, when the mixed company were gone out, we were ſo few, and ſat ſo thin in that large room, that they might take a clear view of us all, and ſingle us out as they pleaſed.

He that commanded the party, gave us firſt a general charge to come out of the room. But we, who came thither at God's requirings, to worſhip him, (like that good man of old, who ſaid, "We ought to obey God "rather than men," Acts v. 29.) ſtirred not, but kept our places. Whereupon he ſent ſome of his ſoldiers among us, with command to drag or drive us out, which they did roughly enough.

When we came out into the ſtreet, we were received there by other ſoldiers, who with their pikes holden length-ways from one another, encompaſſed us round as ſheep in a pound; and there we ſtood a pretty time, while they were picking up more to add to our number.

In this work none ſeemed ſo eager and active as their leader, Major Roſewell. Which I obſerving, ſtepped boldly to him, as he was paſſing by me, and aſked him if he intended a maſſacre: for of that, in thoſe times, there was a great apprehenſion and talk. The ſuddenneſs of the queſtion, from ſuch a young man eſpecially, ſomewhat ſtartled him; but recollecting himſelf, he anſwered, 'No; but I intend to have you 'all hanged by the wholeſome laws of the land.'

When he had gotten as many as he could, or thought fit, which were in number thirty-two, whereof two were catched up in the ſtreet, who had not been at the meeting, he ordered the pikes to be opened before us; and giving the word to march, went himſelf at the head

head of us, the ſoldiers with their pikes making a lane to keep us from ſcattering.

He led us up Martins, and ſo turned down to Newgate, where I expected he would have lodged us. But, to my diſappointment, he went on through Newgate, and turning through the Old Bailey, brought us into Fleet-ſtreet. I was then wholly at a loſs to conjecture whither he would lead us, unleſs it were to Whitehall, for I knew nothing then of Old Bridewell; but on a ſudden he gave a ſhort turn, and brought us before the gate of that priſon, where knocking, the wicket was forthwith opened, and the maſter, with his porter, ready to receive us.

One of thoſe two who were picked up in the ſtreet, being near me, and telling me his caſe, I ſtepped to the Major, and told him that this man was not at the meeting, but was taken up in the ſtreet; and ſhewed him how hard and unjuſt a thing it would be to put him into priſon.

I had not pleaſed him before in the queſtion I had put to him about a maſſacre; and that, I ſuppoſe, made this ſolicitation leſs acceptable to him from me, than it might have been from ſome other. For looking ſternly on me, he ſaid, 'Who are you, that 'take ſo much upon you? Seeing you are ſo buſy, you 'ſhall be the firſt man that ſhall go into Bridewell;' and taking me by the ſhoulders, he thruſt me in.

As ſoon as I was in, the porter pointing with his finger, directed me to a fair pair of ſtairs on the fur-

ther ſide of a large court, and bid me go up thoſe ſtairs, and go on till I could go no further.

Accordingly I went up the ſtairs; the firſt flight whereof brought me to a fair chapel on my left hand, which I could look into through the iron grates, but could not have gone into if I would.

I knew that was not a place for me: wherefore following my direction, and the winding of the ſtairs, I went up a ſtory higher, which brought me into a room, which I ſoon perceived to be a court-room, or place of judicature. After I had ſtood awhile there, and taken a view of it, obſerving a door on the further ſide, I went to it, and opened it, with intention to go in, but I quickly drew back, being almoſt affrighted at the diſmalneſs of the place. For beſides that the walls quite round were laid all over, from top to bottom in black, there ſtood in the middle of it a great whipping-poſt, which was all the furniture it had.

In one of theſe two rooms judgment was given, and in the other it was executed on thoſe ill people, who for their lewdneſs were ſent to this priſon, and there ſentenced to be whipped. Which was ſo contrived, that the court might not only hear, but ſee, if they pleaſed, their ſentence executed.

A ſight ſo unexpected, and withal ſo unpleaſing, gave me no encouragement either to reſt, or indeed to enter at all there; till looking earneſtly I eſpied, on the oppoſite ſide, a door, which giving me hopes

of

of a further progreſs, I adventured to ſtep haſtily to it, and opened it.

This let me into one of the faireſt rooms that, ſo far as I remember, I was ever in, and no wonder, for though it was now put to this mean uſe, it had, for many ages paſt, been the royal ſeat or palace of the kings of England, until Cardinal Woolſey built Whitehall, and offered it as a peace-offering to king Henry the VIIIth, who, until that time, had kept his court in this houſe, and had this, as the people in the houſe reported, for his dining-room, by which name it then went.

This room in length (for I lived long enough in it to have time to meaſure it) was threeſcore feet, and had breadth proportionable to it. In it, on the front ſide, were very large bay windows, in which ſtood a large table. It had other very large tables in it, with benches round; and at that time the floor was covered with ruſhes, againſt ſome ſolemn feſtival, which I heard it was beſpoken for.

Here was my *Nil ultra*, and here I found I might ſet up my pillar; for although there was a door out of it to a back pair of ſtairs which led to it, yet that was kept locked. So that finding I had now followed my keeper's direction to the utmoſt point, beyond which I could not go, I ſat down and conſidered that rhetorical ſaying, 'That the way to Heaven lay by the 'gate of Hell;' the black room, through which I paſſed into this, bearing ſome reſemblance to the

latter, as this comparatively, and by way of alluſion, might in ſome ſort be thought to bear to the former.

But I was quickly put out of theſe thoughts by the flocking in of the other friends, my fellow-priſoners; amongſt whom yet, when all were come together, there was but one whom I knew ſo much as by face, and with him I had no acquaintance. For I having been but a little while in the city, and in that time kept cloſe to my ſtudies, I was by that means known to very few.

Soon after we were all gotten together, came up the maſter of the houſe after us, and demanded our names; which we might reaſonably have refuſed to give, till we had been legally convened before ſome civil magiſtrate, who had power to examine us, and demand our names: but we, who were neither guileful nor wilful, ſimply gave him our names, which he took down in writing.

It was, as I hinted before, a general ſtorm which fell that day, but it lighted moſt, and moſt heavy, upon our meetings; ſo that moſt of our men friends were made priſoners, and the priſons generally filled. And great work had the women to run about from priſon to priſon to find their huſbands, their fathers, their brothers, or their ſervants; for accordingly as they had diſpoſed themſelves to ſeveral meetings, ſo were they diſperſed to ſeveral priſons. And no leſs care and pains had they, when they had found them,

to

to furniſh them with proviſions, and other neceſſary accommodations.

But an excellent order, even in thoſe early days, was practiſed among the friends of that city, by which there were certain friends of either ſex, appointed to have the overſight of the priſons in every quarter, and to take care of all friends, the poor eſpecially, that ſhould be committed thither.

This priſon of Bridewell was under the care of two honeſt, grave, diſcreet, and motherly women, whoſe names were Anne Merrick, (afterwards Vivers) and Anne Travers, both widows.

They, ſo ſoon as they underſtood that there were friends brought into that priſon, provided ſome hot victuals, meat, and broth, for the weather was cold; and ordering their ſervants to bring it them, with bread, cheeſe, and beer, came themſelves alſo with it, and having placed it on a table, gave notice to us, that it was provided for all thoſe that had not others to provide for them; or were not able to provide for themſelves. And there wanted not among us a competent number of ſuch gueſts.

As for my part, though I had lived as frugally as poſſibly I could, that I might draw out the thread of my little ſtock to the utmoſt length, yet had I, by this time, reduced it to tenpence, which was all the money I had about me, or any where elſe at my command.

This was but a ſmall eſtate to enter upon an impriſonment with, yet was I not at all diſcouraged at it, nor had I a murmuring thought. I had known what it was (moderately) to abound, and if I ſhould now come to ſuffer want, I knew I ought to be content; and through the grace of GOD I was ſo. I had lived by Providence before, (when for a long time I had no money at all) and I had always found the LORD a good provider. I made no doubt therefore that He, who ſent the ravens to feed Elijah, and who cloaths the lilies, would find ſome means to ſuſtain me with needful food and raiment; and I had learned by experience the truth of that ſaying, *Natura paucis contenta*, i. e. Nature is content with few things, or a little.

Although the ſight and ſmell of hot food was ſufficiently enticing to my empty ſtomach, for I had eaten little that morning, and was hungry, yet conſidering the terms of the invitation, I queſtioned whether I was included in it; and after ſome reaſonings, at length concluded, that while I had tenpence in my pocket, I ſhould be but an injurious intruder to that meſs, which was provided for ſuch as, perhaps, had not twopence in theirs.

Being come to this reſolution, I withdrew as far from the table as I could, and ſat down in a quiet retirement of mind till the repaſt was over, which was not long; for there were hands enough at it, to make light work of it.

When

When evening came, the porter came up the back ſtairs, and opening the door, told us if we deſired to have any thing that was to be had in the houſe, he would bring it us; for there was in the houſe a chandler's ſhop, at which beer, bread, butter, cheeſe, eggs, and bacon, might be had for money. Upon which many went to him, and ſpake for what of theſe things they had a mind to, giving him money to pay for them.

Among the reſt went I, and intending to ſpin out my tenpence as far as I could, deſired him to bring me a penny loaf only. When he returned, we all reſorted to him to receive our ſeveral proviſions, which he delivered; and when he came to me, he told me he could not get a penny loaf, but he had brought me two halfpenny loaves.

This ſuited me better; wherefore returning to my place again, I ſat down and eat up one of my loaves, reſerving the other for the next day.

This was to me both dinner and ſupper: and ſo well ſatisfied I was with it, that I could willingly then have gone to bed, if I had had one to go to; but that was not to be expected there, nor had any one any bedding brought in that night.

Some of the company had been ſo conſiderate, as to ſend for a pound of candles, that we might not ſit all night in the dark, and having lighted divers of them, and placed them in ſeveral parts of that large room, we kept walking to keep us warm.

After

After I had warmed myſelf pretty thoroughly, and the evening was pretty far ſpent, I bethought myſelf of a lodging; and caſting mine eye on the table which ſtood in the bay window, the frame whereof looked, I thought, ſomewhat like a bedſtead. Wherefore willing to make ſure of that, I gathered up a good armful of the ruſhes, wherewith the floor was covered, and ſpreading them under that table, crept in upon them in my cloaths, and keeping on my hat, laid my head upon one end of the table's frame, inſtead of a bolſter.

My example was followed by the reſt, who gathering up ruſhes as I had done, made themſelves beds in other parts of the room, and ſo to reſt we went.

I having a quiet eaſy mind, was ſoon aſleep, and ſlept till about the middle of the night. And then waking, finding my legs and feet very cold, I crept out of my cabin, and began to walk about apace.

This waked and raiſed all the reſt, who finding themſelves cold as well as I, got up and walked about with me, till we had pretty well warmed ourſelves, and then we all lay down again, and reſted till morning.

Next day, all they who had families, or belonged to families, had bedding brought in of one ſort or other, which they diſpoſed at the ends and ſides of the room, leaving the middle void to walk in.

But I, who had no body to look after me, kept to my ruſhy pallet under the table for four nights together, in which time I did not put off my cloaths; yet,

yet, through the merciful goodneſs of GOD unto me, I reſted and ſlept well, and enjoyed health, without taking cold.

In this time divers of our company, through the ſolicitations of ſome of their relations, or acquaintance, to Sir Richard Brown, (who was at that time a great maſter of miſ-rule in the city, and over Bridewell more eſpecially,) were releaſed; and among theſe one William Mucklow, who lay in a hammock. He, having obſerved that I only was unprovided of lodging, came very courteouſly to me, and kindly offered me the uſe of his hammock while I ſhould continue a priſoner.

This was a providential accommodation to me, which I received thankfully, both from the LORD and from him; and from thenceforth I thought I lay as well as ever I had done in my life.

Amongſt thoſe that remained, there were ſeveral young men who caſt themſelves into a club, and laying down every one an equal proportion of money, put it into the hand of our friend Anne Travers, deſiring her to lay it out for them in proviſions, and ſend them in every day a meſs of hot meat; and they kindly invited me to come into their club with them. Theſe ſaw my perſon, and judged of me by that, but they ſaw not my purſe, nor underſtood the lightneſs of my pocket. But I, who alone underſtood my own condition, knew I muſt ſit down with lower commons. Wherefore not giving them the true reaſon,

I, as

I, as fairly as I could, excuſed myſelf from entering at preſent into their meſs, and went on, as before, to eat by myſelf, and that very ſparingly, as my ſtock would bear. And, before my tenpence was quite ſpent, Providence, on whom I relied, ſent me in a freſh ſupply.

For William Penington, (a brother of Iſaac Penington's) a friend and merchant in London, at whoſe houſe, before I came to live in the city, I was wont to lodge, having been at his brother's that day upon a viſit, eſcaped this ſtorm, and ſo was at liberty; and underſtanding when he came back what had been done, bethought himſelf of me, and upon inquiry hearing where I was, came in love to ſee me.

He, in diſcourſe amongſt other things, aſked me how it was with me as to money, and how well I was furniſhed: I told him I could not boaſt of much, and yet I could not ſay I had none; though what I then had was indeed next to none. Whereupon he put twenty ſhillings into my hand, and deſired me to accept of that for the preſent. I ſaw a divine hand in thus opening his heart and hand in this manner to me. And though I would willingly have been excuſed from taking ſo much, and would have returned one half of it, yet he preſſing it all upon me, I received it with a thankful acknowledgment, as a token of love from the Lord and from him.

On the ſeventh day he went down again, as he uſually did, to his brother's houſe at Chalfont; and in diſcourſe

diſcourſe gave them an account of my impriſonment. Whereupon, at his return on the ſecond day of the week following, my affectionate friend Mary Penington ſent me, by him, forty ſhillings, which he ſoon after brought me; out of which I would have repaid him the twenty ſhillings he had ſo kindly furniſhed me with, but he would not admit it, telling me I might have occaſion for that and more before I got my liberty.

Not many days after this I received twenty ſhillings from my father, who being then at his houſe in Oxfordſhire, and, by letter from my ſiſter, underſtanding that I was a priſoner in Bridewell, ſent this money to me for my ſupport there; and withal a letter to my ſiſter, for her to deliver to one called Mr. Wray, who lived near Bridewell, and was a ſervant to Sir Richard Brown, in ſome wharf of his, requeſting him to intercede with his maſter, who was one of the Governors of Bridewell, for my deliverance. But that letter coming to my hands, I ſuppreſt it, and have it yet by me.

Now was my pocket, from the loweſt ebb riſen to a full tide. I was at the brink of want, next door to nothing, yet my confidence did not fail, nor my faith ſtagger; and now on a ſudden I had plentiful ſupplies, ſhower upon ſhower, ſo that I abounded, yet was not lifted up; but in humility could ſay, 'This is the 'LORD's doing.' And, without defrauding any of the inſtruments of the acknowledgments due unto them,

them, mine eye looked over and beyond them to the LORD, who I ſaw was the author thereof, and prime agent therein, and with a thankful heart I returned thankſgivings and praiſes to him. And this great goodneſs of the Lord to me, I thus record, to the end that all into whoſe hands this may come, may be encouraged to truſt in the Lord, whoſe mercy is over all his works, and who is indeed a God near at hand, to help in the needful time.

Now I durſt venture myſelf into the club, to which I had been invited, and accordingly (having by this time gained an acquaintance with them) took an opportunity to caſt myſelf among them; and thence-forward, ſo long as we continued priſoners there together, I was one of their meſs.

And now the chief thing I wanted was employment, which ſcarce any wanted but myſelf; for the reſt of my company were generally tradeſmen, of ſuch trades as could ſet themſelves on work. Of theſe, divers were taylors, ſome maſters, ſome journeymen, and with theſe I moſt inclined tō ſettle. But becauſe I was too much a novice in their art, to be truſted with their work, leſt I ſhould ſpoil the garment, I got work from an hoſier in Cheapſide; which was to make night-waiſtcoats, of red and yellow flannel, for women and children. And with this I entered myſelf among the taylors, ſitting croſs-legged as they did, and ſo ſpent thoſe leiſure hours with innocency and pleaſure, which want of buſineſs would have made tedious.

tedious. And indeed that was, in a manner, the only advantage I had by it; for my maſter, though a very wealthy man, and one who profeſſed not only friendſhip but particular kindneſs to me, dealt, I thought, but hardly with me. For, though he knew not what I had to ſubſiſt by, he never offered me a penny for my work, till I had done working for him, and went, after I was releaſed, to give him a viſit; and then he would not reckon with me neither, becauſe, (as he ſmilingly ſaid) he would not let me ſo far into his trade, as to acquaint me with the prices of the work, but would be ſure to give me enough. And thereupon he gave me one crown piece, and no more; though I had wrought long for him, and made him many dozens of waiſtcoats, and bought the thread myſelf; which I thought was very poor pay. But, as Providence had ordered it, I wanted the work more than the wages, and therefore took what he gave me, without complaining.

About this time, while we were priſoners in our fair chamber, a friend was brought and put in among us, who had been ſent thither by Richard Brown, to beat hemp; whoſe caſe was thus:

He was a very poor man, who lived by mending ſhoes; and on a ſeventh-day night late, a carman, or ſome other ſuch labouring man, brought him a pair of ſhoes to mend, deſiring him to mend them that night, that he might have them in the morning, for he had no other to wear. The poor man ſat up at work

work upon them till after midnight, and then finding he could not finiſh them, he went to bed, intending to do the reſt in the morning.

Accordingly he got up betimes, and though he wrought as privately as he could in his chamber, that he might avoid giving offence to any, yet could he not do it ſo privately, but that an ill-natured neighbour perceived it, who went and informed againſt him for working on the Sunday. Whereupon he was had before Richard Brown, who committed him to Bridewell for a certain time, to be kept to hard labour in beating hemp, which is labour hard enough.

It ſo fell out, that at the ſame time were committed thither (for what cauſe I do not now remember) two luſty young men, who were called Baptiſts, to be kept alſo at the ſame labour.

The friend was a poor little man, of a low condition, and mean appearance; whereas theſe two Baptiſts were topping blades, that looked high and ſpake big. They ſcorned to beat hemp, and made a piſh at the whipping-poſt; but when they had once felt the ſmart of it, they ſoon cried Peccavi, and ſubmitting to the puniſhment, ſet their tender hands to the beetles.

The friend, on the other hand, acting upon a principle, as knowing he had done no evil for which he ſhould undergo that puniſhment, refuſed to work, and for refuſing was cruelly whipped; which he bore with wonderful conſtancy and reſolution of mind.

The

The manner of whipping there is, to ſtrip the party to the ſkin from the waiſt upwards, and having faſtened him to the whipping-poſt, (ſo that he can neither reſiſt nor ſhun the ſtrokes) to laſh the naked body with long, but ſlender twigs of holly, which will bend almoſt like thongs, and lap round the body; and theſe having little knots upon them, tear the ſkin and fleſh, and give extreme pain.

With theſe rods they tormented the friend moſt barbarouſly; and the more, for that having maſtered the two braving Baptiſts, they diſdained to be maſtered by this poor Quaker. Yet were they fain at laſt to yield, when they ſaw their utmoſt ſeverity could not make him yield. And then, not willing to be troubled longer with him, they turned him up among us.

When we had inquired of him how it was with him, and he had given us a brief account of both his cauſe and uſage, it came in my mind that I had in my box (which I had ſent for from my lodging, to keep ſome few books and other neceſſaries in) a little gallipot with Lucatellu's balſam in it.

Wherefore cauſing a good fire to be made, and ſetting the friend, within a blanket before the fire, we ſtripped him to the waiſt, as if he had been to be whipped again, and found his ſkin ſo cut and torn with the knotty holly rods, both back, ſide, arm, and breaſt, that it was a diſmal ſight to look upon. Then melting ſome of the balſam, I, with a feather, anointed all the ſores, and putting a ſofter cloth between his

ſkin

ſkin and his ſhirt, helped him on with his cloaths again. This dreſſing gave him much eaſe, and I continued it till he was well. And becauſe he was a very poor man, we took him into our meſs, contriving that there ſhould always be enough for him as well as for ourſelves. Thus he lived with us until the time, he was committed for, was expired, and then he was releaſed.

But we were ſtill continued priſoners by an arbitrary power, not being committed by the civil authority, nor having ſeen the face of any civil magiſtrate, from the day we were thruſt in here by ſoldiers, which was the 26th day of the eighth month, to the 19th of the tenth month following.

On that day we were had to the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey. But not being called there, we were brought back to Bridewell, and continued there to the 29th of the ſame month, and then we were carried to the ſeſſions again.

I expected I ſhould have been called the firſt, becauſe my name was firſt taken down; but it proved otherwiſe, ſo that I was one of the laſt that was called; which gave me the advantage of hearing the pleas of the other priſoners, and diſcovering the temper of the court.

The priſoners complained of the illegality of their impriſonment, and deſired to know what they had lain ſo long in priſon for. The court regarded nothing of that, and did not ſtick to tell them ſo. 'For,' ſaid the

the Recorder to them, 'if you think you have been 'wrongfully impriſoned, you have your remedy at 'law, and may take it, if you think it worth your 'while. The court (ſaid he) may ſend for any man 'out of the ſtreet, and tender him the oath: ſo we 'take no notice how you came hither, but finding 'you here, we tender you the Oath of Allegiance; 'which, if you refuſe to take, we ſhall commit you, 'and at length præmunire you.' Accordingly, as every one refuſed it, he was ſet aſide, and another called.

By this I ſaw it was in vain for me to inſiſt upon falſe impriſonment, or aſk the cauſe of my commitment; though I had before furniſhed myſelf with ſome authorities and maxims of law on that ſubject, to have pleaded, if room had been given; and I had the book, out of which I took them, in my boſom; for the weather being cold, I wore a gown girt about the middle, and had put the book within it. But I now reſolved to wave all that, and inſiſt upon another plea, which juſt then came into my mind.

As ſoon therefore as I was called, I ſtepped nimbly to the bar, and ſtood up upon the ſtepping, that I might the better both hear and be heard, and laying my hands upon the bar, ſtood ready, expecting what they would ſay to me.

I ſuppoſe they took me for a confident young man, for they looked very earneſtly upon me; and we faced each other, without words, for a while. At length the

the Recorder, who was called Sir John Howel, aſked me if I would take the Oath of Allegiance:

To which I anſwered, 'I conceive this court hath 'not power to tender that oath to me, in the condi-'tion wherein I ſtand.'

This ſo unexpected plea ſeemed to ſtartle them, ſo that they looked one upon another, and ſaid ſomewhat low one to another, 'What! doth he demur to the 'juriſdiction of the court?' And thereupon the Recorder aſked me, 'Do you then demur to the juriſdic-'tion of the court?' 'Not abſolutely, (anſwered I) 'but conditionally, with reſpect to my preſent con-'dition, and the circumſtances I am now under.'

'Why, what is your preſent condition?' ſaid the Recorder. 'A priſoner,' replied I. 'And what is 'that, (ſaid he) to your taking, or not taking the 'oath?' 'Enough, (ſaid I) as I conceive, to exempt 'me from the tender thereof, while I am under this 'condition.' 'Pray, what is your reaſon for that?' ſaid he. 'This, (ſaid I) That if I rightly under-'ſtand the words of the ſtatute, I am required to ſay, '*That I do take this Oath freely and without conſtraint*, 'which I cannot ſay, becauſe I am not a free man, 'but in bonds, and under conſtraint. Wherefore I 'conceive, that if you would tender that oath to me, 'ye ought firſt to ſet me free from my preſent 'impriſonment.'

'But (ſaid the Recorder) will you take the oath 'if you be ſet free?' 'Thou ſhalt ſee that, (ſaid I) 'when

'when I am ſet free. Therefore ſet me free firſt, 'and then aſk the queſtion.'

'But, (ſaid he again) you know your own mind 'ſure, and can tell now what you would do, if you 'were at liberty.' 'Yes, (replied I) that I can; 'but I do not hold myſelf obliged to tell it until I am 'at liberty. Therefore ſet me at liberty, and ye ſhall 'ſoon hear it.'

Thus we fenced a good while, till I was both weary of ſuch trifling, and doubted alſo, leſt ſome of the ſtanders by ſhould ſuſpect I would take it, if I was ſet at liberty. Wherefore when the Recorder put it upon me again, I told him plainly, No; though I thought they ought not to tender it me, till I had been ſet at liberty; yet if I was ſet at liberty, I could not take that, nor any other oath, becauſe my Lord and Maſter CHRIST JESUS, had expreſsly commanded his diſciples, *Not to ſwear at all.*

As his command was enough to me, ſo this confeſſion of mine was enough to them. 'Take him 'away,' ſaid they; and away I was taken, and thruſt into the bail-dock to my other friends, who had been called before me. And as ſoon as the reſt of our company were called, and had refuſed to ſwear, we were all committed to Newgate, and thruſt into the common ſide.

When we came there, we found that ſide of the priſon very full of friends, who were priſoners there before (as indeed were, at that time, all the other

parts of that priſon, and moſt of the other priſons about the town) and our addition cauſed a great throng on that ſide. Notwithſtanding which, we were kindly welcomed by our friends, whom we found there, and entertained by them, as well as their condition would admit, until we could get in our own accommodations, and provide for ourſelves.

We had the liberty of the hall (which is on the firſt ſtory over the gate, and which, in the day-time, is common to all the priſoners on that ſide, felons as well as others, to walk in, and to beg out of) and we had alſo the liberty of ſome other rooms over that hall, to walk or work in a days. But in the night we all lodged in one room, which was large and round, having in the middle of it a great pillar of oaken timber, which bore up the chapel that is over it.

To this pillar we faſtened our hammocks at the one end, and to the oppoſite wall on the other end, quite round the room, and in three degrees, or three ſtories high, one over the other; ſo that they who lay in the upper and middle row of hammocks, were obliged to go to bed firſt, becauſe they were to climb up to the higher, by getting into the lower. And under the lower rank of hammocks, by the wall ſides, were laid beds upon the floor, in which the ſick, and ſuch weak perſons as could not get into the hammocks, lay. And indeed, though the room was large and pretty airy, yet the breath and ſteam that came from ſo many bodies

bodies, of different ages, conditions, and conſtitutions, packed up ſo cloſe together, was enough to cauſe ſickneſs amongſt us, and I believe did ſo. For there were many ſick, and ſome very weak; though we were not long there, yet in that time one of our fellow priſoners, who lay in one of thoſe pallet-beds, died.

This cauſed ſome buſtle in the houſe. For the body of the deceaſed being laid out, and put into a coffin, was carried down and ſet in the room called the Lodge, that the coroner might inquire into the cauſe and manner of his death. And the manner of their doing it is thus: As ſoon as the coroner is come, the turnkeys run out into the ſtreet under the gate, and ſeize upon every man that paſſes by, till they have got enough to make up the coroner's inqueſt. And ſo reſolute theſe rude fellows are, that if any man reſiſt or diſpute it with them, they drag him in by main force, not regarding what condition he is of. Nay, I have been told, they will not ſtick to ſtop a coach, and pluck the men out of it.

It ſo happened, that at this time they lighted on an ancient man, a grave citizen, who was trudging through the gate in great haſte, and him they laid hold on, telling him he muſt come in, and ſerve upon the coroner's inqueſt. He pleaded hard, begged and beſought them to let him go, aſſuring them he was going on very urgent buſineſs, and that the ſtopping him would be greatly to his prejudice. But they

were deaf to all intreaties, and hurried him in, the poor man chafing without remedy.

When they had got their complement, and were ſhut in together, the reſt of them ſaid to this ancient man, 'Come, father, you are the oldeſt among us, 'you ſhall be our foreman.' And when the coroner had ſworn them on the jury, the coffin was uncovered, that they might look upon the body. But the old man, diſturbed in his mind at the interruption they had given him, was grown ſomewhat fretful upon it, ſaid to them, 'To what purpoſe do you ſhew us a 'dead body here? You would not have us think, 'ſure, that this man died in this room! How then 'ſhall we be able to judge how this man came by his 'death, unleſs we ſee the place wherein he died, and 'wherein he hath been kept priſoner before he died? 'How know we but that the incommodiouſneſs of 'the place wherein he was kept, may have occaſioned 'his death? Therefore ſhew us, (ſaid he) the place 'wherein this man died.'

This much diſpleaſed the keepers, and they began to banter the old man, thinking to have beaten him off it. But he ſtood up tightly to them: 'Come, 'come, (ſaid he) though you have made a fool of 'me in bringing me in hither, ye ſhall not find a 'child of me now I am here. Miſtake not yourſelves: 'I underſtand my place, and your duty: and I require 'you to conduct me and my brethren to the place 'where this man died: refuſe it at your peril.'

They

They now wiſhed they had let the old man go about his buſineſs, rather than by troubling him, have brought this trouble on themſelves. But when they ſaw he perſiſted in his reſolution, and was peremptory, the coroner told them, they muſt go ſhew him the place.

It was in the evening when they began this work; and by this time it was grown bed time with us, ſo that we had taken down our hammocks (which in the day were hung up by the walls) and had made them ready to go into, and were undreſſing ourſelves in readineſs to go into them. When on a ſudden we heard a great noiſe of tongues, and of tramplings of feet, coming up towards us. And by and by one of the turnkeys opening our door, ſaid, 'Hold, hold, 'do not undreſs yourſelves, here is the coroner's 'inqueſt coming to ſee you.'

As ſoon as they were come to the door (for within the door there was ſcarce room for them to come) the foreman who led them, lifting up his hand, ſaid, 'Lord bleſs me, what a ſight is here! I did not 'think there had been ſo much cruelty in the hearts 'of Engliſhmen, to uſe Engliſhmen in this manner! 'We need not now queſtion (ſaid he to the reſt of the jury) how this man came by his death; we may 'rather wonder that they are not all dead, for this 'place is enough to breed an infection among them. 'Well, (added he) if it pleaſe God to lengthen my

'life till to-morrow, I will find means to let the 'King know how his ſubjects are dealt with.'

Whether he did ſo or no I cannot tell; but I am apt to think that he applied himſelf to the Mayor, or the Sheriffs, of London. For the next day one of the Sheriffs, called Sir William Turner, a woollen-draper, in Paul's-Yard, came to the preſs-yard, and having ordered the porter of Bridewell to attend him there, ſent up a turnkey amongſt us, to bid all the Bridewell priſoners come down to him, for they knew us not, but we knew our own company.

Being come before him in the preſs-yard, he looked kindly on us, and ſpake courteouſly to us. 'Gentle-'men, (ſaid he) I underſtand the priſon is very full, 'and I am ſorry for it. I wiſh it were in my power 'to releaſe you, and the reſt of your friends that are 'in it. But ſince I cannot do that, I am willing to 'do what I can for you. And therefore I am come 'hither to inquire how it is; and I would have all 'you, who came from Bridewell, return thither again, 'which will be a better accommodation to you; and 'your removal will give the more room to thoſe that 'are left behind; and here is the porter of Bridewell, 'your old keeper, to attend you thither.'

We duly acknowledged the favour of the Sheriff to us and our friends above, in this removal of us, which would give them more room, and us a better air. But before we parted from him, I ſpake particularly to him on another occaſion; which was this:

When

When we came into Newgate we found a ſhabby fellow there among the friends, who, upon inquiry, we underſtood had thruſt himſelf among our friends, when they were taken at a meeting, on purpoſe to be ſent to priſon with them, in hopes to be maintained by them. They knew nothing of him, till they found him ſhut in with them in the priſon, and then took no notice of him, as not knowing how or why he came thither. But he ſoon gave them cauſe to take notice of him; for wherever he ſaw any victuals brought forth for them to eat, he would be ſure to thruſt in, with knife in hand, and make himſelf his own carver; and ſo impudent was he, that if he ſaw the proviſion was ſhort, whoever wanted, he would be ſure to take enough.

Thus lived this lazy drone upon the labours of the induſtrious bees, to his high content, and their no ſmall trouble, to whom his company was as offenſive, as his ravening was oppreſſive; nor could they get any relief, by their complaining of him to the keepers.

This fellow hearing the notice which was given, for the Bridewell men to go down, in order to be removed to Bridewell again, and hoping, no doubt, that freſh quarters would produce freſh commons, and that he ſhould fare better with us than where he was, thruſt himſelf amongſt us, and went down into the preſs-yard with us: which I knew not of till I ſaw

him ſtanding there with his hat on, and looking as demurely as he could, that the Sheriff might take him for a Quaker: at the ſight of which my ſpirit was much ſtirred.

Wherefore, ſo ſoon as the Sheriff had done ſpeaking to us, and we had made our acknowledgment of his kindneſs, I ſtepped a little nearer to him, and pointing to that fellow, ſaid, 'That man is not only none of 'our company, for he is no Quaker; but is an idle 'diſſolute fellow, who hath thruſt himſelf in among 'our friends, to be ſent to priſon with them, that he 'might live upon them; therefore I deſire we may 'not be troubled with him at Bridewell.'

At this the Sheriff ſmiled; and calling the fellow forth, ſaid to him, 'How came you to be in priſon?' 'I was taken at a meeting,' (ſaid he). 'But what 'buſineſs had you there?' (ſaid the Sheriff.) 'I went 'to hear,' (ſaid he). 'Aye, you went upon a worſe 'deſign, it ſeems, (replied the Sheriff,) but I'll diſ-'appoint you, (ſaid he) for I'll change your company, 'and ſend you to them that are like yourſelf.' Then calling for the turnkey, he ſaid, 'Take this fellow, 'and put him among the felons; and be ſure let him 'not trouble the Quakers any more.'

Hitherto this fellow had ſtood with his hat on, as willing to have paſſed if he could for a Quaker; but as ſoon as he heard this doom paſſed on him, off went his hat, and to bowing and ſcraping he fell, with

'Good

'Good your worſhip, have pity upon me, and ſet me 'at liberty.' 'No, no, (ſaid the Sheriff,) I will 'not ſo far diſappoint you; ſince you had a mind to 'be in priſon, in priſon you ſhall be for me.' Then bidding the turnkey take him away, he had him up, and put him among the felons; and ſo friends had a good deliverance from him.

The Sheriff then bidding us farewell, the porter of Bridewell came to us, and told us we knew our way to Bridewell without him, and he could truſt us; therefore he would not ſtay nor go with us, but left us to take our own time, ſo we were in before bed-time.

Then went we up again to our friends in Newgate, and gave them an account of what had paſſed, and having taken a ſolemn leave of them, we made up our packs to be gone. But before I paſs from Newgate, I think it not amiſs to give the reader ſome little account of what I obſerved while I was there.

The common ſide of Newgate is generally accounted, as it really is, the worſt part of that priſon; not ſo much from the place, as the people, it being uſually ſtocked with the verieſt rogues, and meaneſt ſort of felons and pick-pockets, who not being able to pay chamber-rent on the maſter's ſide, are thruſt in there. And if they come in bad, to be ſure they do not go out better; for here they have an opportunity to

inſtruct one another in their art, and impart each to other what improvements they have made therein.

The common hall (which is the firſt room over the gate) is a good place to walk in, when the priſoners are out of it, ſaving the danger of catching ſome cattle which they may have left in it, and there I uſed to walk in a morning before they were let up, and ſometimes in the day-time when they have been there.

They all carried themſelves reſpectfully towards me, which I imputed chiefly to this, that when any of our women friends came there to viſit the priſoners, if they had not relations of their own there to take care of them, (I, as being a young man, and more at leiſure than moſt others, for I could not play the taylor there) was forward to go down with them to the grate, and ſee them ſafe out. And ſometimes they have left money in my hands for the felons (who at ſuch times were very importunate beggars) which I forthwith diſtributed among them in bread, which was to be had in the place. But ſo troubleſome an office it was, that I thought one had as good have had a pack of hungry hounds about one, as theſe, when they knew there was a dole to be given. Yet this, I think, made them a little the more obſervant to me; for they would diſpoſe themſelves to one ſide of the room, that they might make way for me to walk on the other.

For having, as I hinted before, made up our packs, and taken our leave of our friends, whom we were to leave behind,

behind, we took our bundles on our ſhoulders, and walked, two and two a-breaſt, through the Old Bailey into Fleet-ſtreet, and ſo to Old Bridewell. And it being about the middle of the afternoon, and the ſtreets pretty full of people, both the ſhop-keepers at their doors, and paſſengers in the way, would ſtop us, and aſk us what we were, and whither we were going: and when we had told them we were priſoners, going from one priſon to another, (from Newgate to Bridewell) 'What! (ſaid they) without a keeper?' 'No, (ſaid we) for our word, which we have given, 'is our keeper.' Some thereupon would adviſe us not to go to priſon, but to go home. But we told them we could not do ſo; we could ſuffer for our teſtimony, but could not fly from it. I do not remember we had any abuſe offered us, but were generally pitied by the people.

When we were come to Bridewell, we were not put up into the great room in which we had been before, but into a low room in another fair court, which had a pump in the middle of it. And here we were not ſhut up as before, but had the liberty of the court to walk in, and of the pump to waſh or drink at. And indeed we might eaſily have gone quite away if we would, there being a paſſage through the court into the ſtreet; but we were true and ſteady priſoners, and looked upon this liberty ariſing from their confidence in us, to be a kind of parole upon us; ſo

inſtruct one another in their art, and impart each to other what improvements they have made therein.

The common hall (which is the firſt room over the gate) is a good place to walk in, when the priſoners are out of it, ſaving the danger of catching ſome cattle which they may have left in it, and there I uſed to walk in a morning before they were let up, and ſometimes in the day-time when they have been there.

They all carried themſelves reſpectfully towards me, which I imputed chiefly to this, that when any of our women friends came there to viſit the priſoners, if they had not relations of their own there to take care of them, (I, as being a young man, and more at leiſure than moſt others, for I could not play the taylor there) was forward to go down with them to the grate, and ſee them ſafe out. And ſometimes they have left money in my hands for the felons (who at ſuch times were very importunate beggars) which I forthwith diſtributed among them in bread, which was to be had in the place. But ſo troubleſome an office it was, that I thought one had as good have had a pack of hungry hounds about one, as theſe, when they knew there was a dole to be given. Yet this, I think, made them a little the more obſervant to me; for they would diſpoſe themſelves to one ſide of the room, that they might make way for me to walk on the other.

For having, as I hinted before, made up our packs, and taken our leave of our friends, whom we were to leave behind,

behind, we took our bundles on our ſhoulders, and walked, two and two a-breaſt, through the Old Bailey into Fleet-ſtreet, and ſo to Old Bridewell. And it being about the middle of the afternoon, and the ſtreets pretty full of people, both the ſhop-keepers at their doors, and paſſengers in the way, would ſtop us, and aſk us what we were, and whither we were going: and when we had told them we were priſoners, going from one priſon to another, (from Newgate to Bridewell) 'What! (ſaid they) without a keeper?' 'No, (ſaid we) for our word, which we have given, 'is our keeper.' Some thereupon would adviſe us not to go to priſon, but to go home. But we told them we could not do ſo; we could ſuffer for our teſtimony, but could not fly from it. I do not remember we had any abuſe offered us, but were generally pitied by the people.

When we were come to Bridewell, we were not put up into the great room in which we had been before, but into a low room in another fair court, which had a pump in the middle of it. And here we were not ſhut up as before, but had the liberty of the court to walk in, and of the pump to waſh or drink at. And indeed we might eaſily have gone quite away if we would, there being a paſſage through the court into the ſtreet; but we were true and ſteady priſoners, and looked upon this liberty ariſing from their confidence in us, to be a kind of parole upon us; ſo

that both conſcience and honour ſtood now engaged for our true impriſonment.

Adjoining to this room wherein we were, was ſuch another, both newly fitted up for work-houſes, and accordingly furniſhed with very great blocks for beating hemp upon, and a luſty whipping-poſt there was in each. And it was ſaid, that Richard Brown had ordered thoſe blocks to be provided for the Quakers to work on, reſolving to try his ſtrength with us in that caſe: but if that was his purpoſe, it was over-ruled, for we never had any work offered us, nor were we treated after the manner of thoſe that are to be ſo uſed. Yet we ſet ourſelves to work on them; for, being very large, they ſerved the taylors for ſhop-boards, and others wrought upon them as they had occaſion; and they ſerved us very well for tables to eat on.

We had alſo beſides this room, the uſe of our former chamber above, to go into when we thought fit; and thither ſometimes I withdrew, when I found a deſire for retirement and privacy, or had ſomething on my mind to write, which could not ſo well be done in company. And indeed, about this time, my ſpirit was more than ordinarily exerciſed, though on very different ſubjects. For, on the one hand, the ſenſe of the exceeding LOVE and GOODNESS of the LORD to me, in His gracious and tender dealings with me, did deeply affect my heart, and cauſed me to break forth

in

in a SONG of THANKSGIVING and PRAISE to Him: and, on the other hand, a ſenſe of the prophaneneſs, debaucheries, cruelties, and other horrid impieties of the age, fell heavy on me, and lay as a preſſing weight upon my ſpirit; and I breathed forth the following Hymn to GOD, in acknowledgment of his great goodneſs to me, profeſſion of my grateful love to him, and ſupplication to him, for the continuance of his kindneſs to me, in preſerving me from the ſnares of the enemy, and keeping me faithful unto himſelf.

THEE, Thee alone, O GOD, I fear,
In Thee do I confide;
Thy preſence is to me more dear
Than all things elſe beſide.
Thy virtue, power, life, and light,
Which in my heart do ſhine,
Above all things are my delight,
O make them always mine!
Thy matchleſs love conſtrains my life,
Thy life conſtrains my love,
To be to Thee as chaſte a wife,
As is the turtle-dove.
To her elect, eſpouſed mate,
Whom ſhe will not forſake,
Nor can be brought to violate
The bond ſhe once did make.

Juſt

Juſt ſo my ſoul doth cleave to Thee,
As to her only head,
With whom ſhe longs conjoin'd to be
In bond of marriage-bed.
But, ah, alas! her little fort
Is compaſſed about,
Her foes about her thick reſort,
Within, and eke without.
How numerous are they now grown!
How wicked their intent!
O let thy mighty power be ſhown,
Their miſchief to prevent!
They make aſſaults on ev'ry ſide,
But Thou ſtand'ſt in the gap;
Their batt'ring-rams make breaches wide,
But ſtill Thou mak'ſt them up.
Sometimes they uſe alluring wiles,
To draw into their pow'r;
And ſometimes weep like crocodiles,
But all is to devour.
Thus they beſet my feeble heart
With fraud, deceit, and guile,
Alluring her from Thee to ſtart,
And Thy pure reſt defile.
But, oh! the breathing and the moan,
The ſighings of the ſeed,
The groanings of the grieved one,
Do ſorrows in me breed.

And

And that immortal, holy birth,
The offspring of Thy breath,
(To whom Thy love brings life and mirth,
As doth thy abſence, death;)
That babe, that ſeed, that panting child,
Which cannot Thee forſake,
In fear to be again beguil'd,
Doth ſupplication make;
O ſuffer not thy choſen one,
Who puts her truſt in Thee,
And hath made Thee her choice alone,
Enſnar'd again to be.

Bridewell, London:
1662.

In this ſort did I ſpend ſome leiſure hours, during my confinement in Bridewell, eſpecially after our return from Newgate thither; when we had more liberty, and more opportunity, and room for retirement and thought: for, as the Poet ſaid,

Carmina Scribentes Seceſſum & Otia quærunt.

——— They who would write in meaſure,
Retire where they may ſtillneſs have and leiſure.

And this priviledge we enjoyed by the indulgence of our keeper, whoſe heart God diſpoſed to favour us.

So

So that both the maſter and his porter were very civil and kind to us, and had been ſo indeed all along. For when we were ſhut up before, the porter would readily let ſome of us go home in an evening, and ſtay at home till next morning; which was a great conveniency to men of trade and buſineſs, which I being free from, forbore aſking for myſelf, that I might not hinder others.

This he obſerved, and aſked me when I meant to aſk to go out: I told him I had not much occaſion nor deſire; yet at ſome time or other, perhaps, I might have; but when I had, I would aſk him but once, and if he then denied me, I would aſk him no more.

After we were come back from Newgate, I had a deſire to go thither again, to viſit my friends who were priſoners there, more eſpecially my dear friend, and father in Chriſt, Edward Burrough, who was then a priſoner, with many friends more, in that part of Newgate, which was then called Juſtice-hall. Whereupon the porter coming in my way, I aſked him to let me go out for an hour or two, to ſee ſome friends of mine that evening.

He, to enhance the kindneſs, made it a matter of ſome difficulty, and would have me ſtay till another night. I told him I would be at a word with him, for as I had told him before, that if he denied me, I would aſk him no more, ſo he ſhould find I would keep to it.

He

He was no ſooner gone out of my ſight, but I eſpied his maſter croſſing the court: wherefore ſtepping to him, I aſked him if he was willing to let me go out for a little while, to ſee ſome friends of mine that evening. Yes, ſaid he, very willingly; and thereupon away walked I to Newgate, where having ſpent the evening among friends, I returned in good time.

Under this eaſy reſtraint we lay until the court ſat at the Old Bailey again; and then, whether it was that the heat of the ſtorm was ſomewhat abated, or by what other means Providence wrought it, I know not, we were called to the bar, and, without further queſtion, diſcharged.

Whereupon we returned to Bridewell again, and having raiſed ſome money among us, and therewith gratified both the maſter and his porter for their kindneſs to us, we ſpent ſome time in a ſolemn meeting, to return our thankful acknowledgment to the LORD, both for his preſervation of us in priſon, and deliverance of us out of it; and then taking a ſolemn farewell of each other, we departed with bag and baggage. And I took care to return my hammock to the owner, with due acknowledgment of his great kindneſs in lending it me.

Being now at liberty, I viſited more generally my friends that were ſtill in priſon, and more particularly my friend and benefactor William Penington, at his houſe, and then went to wait upon my maſter Milton: with whom yet I could not propoſe to enter upon my intermitted

intermitted ſtudies, until I had been in Buckinghamſhire, to viſit my worthy friends Iſaac Penington, and his virtuous wife, with other friends in that country.

Thither therefore I betook myſelf, and the weather being froſty, and the ways, by that means, clean and good, I walked it throughout in a day, and was received by my friends there with ſuch demonſtration of hearty kindneſs, as made my journey very eaſy to me.

I had ſpent in my impriſonment that twenty ſhillings which I had received of Wm. Penington, and twenty of the forty which had been ſent me from Mary Penington, and had the remainder then about me. That therefore I now returned to her, with due acknowledgment of her huſband's and her great care of me, and liberality to me in the time of my need. She would have had me kept it: but I begged of her to accept it from me again, ſince it was the redundancy of their kindneſs, and the other part had anſwered the occaſion for which it was ſent: and my importunity prevailed.

I intended only a viſit hither, not a continuance; and therefore purpoſed, after I had ſtaid a few days, to return to my lodging and former courſe in London; but Providence ordered it otherwiſe.

Iſaac Penington had at that time two ſons and one daughter, all then very young; of whom the eldeſt ſon, (John Penington) and the daughter, (Mary, the wife

wife of Daniel Wharley) are yet living at the writing of this. And being himſelf both ſkilful and curious in pronunciation, he was very deſirous to have them well grounded in the rudiments of the Engliſh tongue; to which end he had ſent for a man out of Lancaſhire, whom, upon inquiry, he had heard of, who was undoubtedly the moſt accurate Engliſh teacher that ever I met with, or have heard of. His name was Richard Bradley. But as he pretended no higher than the Engliſh tongue, and had led them, by grammar rules, to the higheſt improvement they were capable of in that, he had then taken his leave of them, and was gone up to London, to teach an Engliſh ſchool of friends children there.

This put my friend to a freſh ſtrait. He had ſought for a new teacher to inſtruct his children in the Latin tongue, as the old had done in the Engliſh, but had not yet found one. Wherefore one evening as we ſat together by the fire in his bed-chamber, (which, for want of health, he kept) he aſked me, his wife being by, if I would be ſo kind to him, as to ſtay a while with him, till he could hear of ſuch a man as he aimed at, and in the mean time enter his children in the rudiments of the Latin tongue.

This queſtion was not more unexpected, than ſurpriſing to me; and the more, becauſe it ſeemed directly to thwart my former purpoſe and undertaking, of endeavouring to improve myſelf, by following my ſtudies with my maſter Milton, which this would give,

give, at leaſt a preſent diverſion from, and for how long I could not foreſee.

But the ſenſe I had of the manifold obligations I lay under to theſe worthy friends of mine, ſhut out all reaſonings, and diſpoſed my mind to an abſolute reſignation to their deſire, that I might teſtify my gratitude, by a willingneſs to do them any friendly ſervice, that I could be capable of.

And though I queſtioned my ability to carry on that work, to its due height and proportion, yet, as that was not propoſed, but an initiation only, by accidence into grammar, I conſented to the propoſal, as a preſent expedient, (till a more qualified perſon ſhould be found) without further treaty, or mention of terms, between us, than that of mutual friendſhip. And to render this digreſſion from my own ſtudies the leſs uneaſy to my mind, I recollected and often thought of that rule in Lilly,

Qui docet indoctos, licet indoctiſſimus eſſet,
Ipſe brevi reliquis doctior eſſe queat.

He that th' unlearn'd doth teach, may quickly be
More learn'd than they, though moſt unlearned he.

With this conſideration I undertook this province, and left it not until I married, which was not till the year 1669, near ſeven years from the time I came thither. In which time, having the uſe of my friend's books,

books, as well as of my own, I ſpent my leiſure hours much in reading, not without ſome improvement to myſelf in my private ſtudies; which (with the good ſucceſs of my labours beſtowed on the children, and the agreeableneſs of converſation which I found in the family) rendered my undertaking more ſatisfactory, and my ſtay there more eaſy to me.

But, alas! not many days (not to ſay weeks) had I been there, ere we were almoſt over-whelmed with ſorrow, for the unexpected loſs of Edward Burrough, who was juſtly very dear to us all.

This not only good, but great good man, by a long and cloſe confinement in Newgate, through the cruel malice and malicious cruelty of Richard Brown, was taken away by haſty death, to the unutterable grief of very many, and unſpeakable loſs to the church of CHRIST in general.

The particular obligation I had to him, as the immediate inſtrument of my convincement, and high affection for him reſulting therefrom, did ſo deeply affect my mind, that it was ſome pretty time before my paſſion could prevail to expreſs itſelf in words; ſo true I found that of the Tragedian:

Curæ leves loquuntur,
Ingentes ſtupent.

Light griefs break forth, and eaſily get vent,
Great ones are through amazement cloſely pent.

At

At length my muſe, not bearing to be any longer mute, brake forth in the following

A CROSTICK,

WHICH SHE CALLED

A PATHETICK ELEGY,

ON THE DEATH OF THAT DEAR AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF GOD,

EDWARD BURROUGH,

Who died the 14th of the Twelfth Month, 1662.

And thus ſhe introduceth it:

HOW long ſhall grief lie ſmother'd! ah, how long,
Shall Sorrow's ſignet ſeal my ſilent tongue!
How long ſhall ſighs me ſuffocate! and make
My lips to quiver, and my heart to ake!
How long ſhall I, with pain ſuppreſs my cries!
And ſeek for holes to wipe my wat'ry eyes!
Why may not I, by ſorrow thus oppreſt,
Pour forth my grief into another's breaſt!
If that be true which once was ſaid by one,
That 'He mourns truly, who doth mourn alone:' *

* Ille dolet vere, qui ſine Teſte dolet.

Then

Then may I truly ſay, My grief is true,
Since it hath yet been known to very few.
Nor is it now mine aim to make it known
To thoſe, to whom theſe verſes may be ſhown;
But to aſſwage my ſorrow-ſwollen heart,
Which ſilence caus'd to taſte ſo deep of ſmart.
This is my end, that ſo I may prevent
The veſſel's burſting, by a timely vent.

——— *Quis talia fando*
Temperet a Lacrymis! ———

Who can forbear, when ſuch things ſpoke he hears,
His grave to water with a flood of tears.

E cho, ye woods; reſound ye hollow places,
L et tears and paleneſs cover all mens faces.
L et groans, like claps of thunder, pierce the air,
W hile I the cauſe of my juſt grief declare.
O that mine eyes could, like the ſtreams of Nile,
O 'erflow their wat'ry banks; and thou, mean while,
D rink in my trickling tears, O thirſty ground,
S o might'ſt thou henceforth fruitfuller be found.

L ament

L ament, my ſoul, lament, thy loſs is deep,
A nd all that Sion love, ſit down and weep,
M ourn, O ye Virgins, and let ſorrow be
E ach Damſel's dowry, and (alas, for me!)
N e'er let my ſobs and ſighings have an end,
T ill I again embrace m' aſcended friend;
A nd till I feel the virtue of his life
T o conſolate me, and repreſs my grief:
I nfuſe into my heart the oil of gladneſs
O nce more, and by its ſtrength, remove that ſadneſs
N ow preſſing down my ſpirit, and reſtore

F ully that joy I had in him before.
O f whom a word I fain would ſtammer forth,
R ather to eaſe my heart, than ſhew his worth:

H is worth, my grief, which words too ſhallow are
I n demonſtration fully to declare,
S ighs, ſobs, my beſt interpreters now are.

E nvy be gone. Black Momus quit the place;
N e'er more, Zoilus, ſhew thy wrinkled face.
D raw near, ye bleeding hearts, whoſe ſorrows are
E qual with mine; in him ye had like ſhare.
A dd all your loſſes up, and ye ſhall ſee
R emainder will be nought but woe is me.
E ndeared lambs, ye that have the white ſtone,
D o know full well his name, it is your own.

E ternitiz'd

E ternitiz'd be that right worthy name,
D eath hath but kill'd his body, not his fame,
W hich in its brightneſs ſhall for ever dwell,
A nd, like a box of ointment, ſweetly ſmell.
R ighteouſneſs was his robe; bright majeſty
D ecked his brow; his look was heavenly.

B old was he in his Maſter's quarrel, and
U ndaunted; faithful to his Lord's command.
R equiting good for ill; directing all
R ight in the way that leads out of the fall.
O pen and free to ev'ry thirſty lamb;
U nſpotted, pure, clean, holy, without blame.
G lory, light, ſplendor, luſtre, was his crown,
H appy his change to him; the loſs our own.

Unica poſt cineres virtus veneranda beatos
Efficit. ———

Virtue alone, which rev'rence ought to have,
Doth make men happy, e'en beyond the grave.

While I had thus been breathing forth my grief,
In hopes thereby to get me ſome relief,
I heard, methought, his voice ſay, 'Ceaſe to mourn,
'I live; and though the vail of fleſh once worn
'Be now ſtript off, diſſolv'd, and laid aſide,
'My ſpirit's with thee, and ſhall ſo abide.'
This ſatisfy'd me; down I threw my quill,
Willing to be reſign'd to GOD's pure will.

Having diſcharged this duty to the memory of my deceaſed friend, I went on in my new province, inſtructing my little pupils in the rudiments of the Latin tongue, to the mutual ſatisfaction of both their parents and myſelf. As ſoon as I had gotten a little money in my pocket, which as a premium without compact I received from them, I took the firſt opportunity to return to my friend William Penington, the money which he had ſo kindly furniſhed me with in my need, at the time of my impriſonment in Bridewell, with a due acknowledgment of my obligation to him for it. He was not at all forward to receive it, ſo that I was fain to preſs it upon him.

While thus I remained in this family, various ſuſpicions aroſe in the minds of ſome concerning me, with reſpect to Mary Penington's fair daughter Guli. For ſhe having now arrived to a marriageable age, and being in all reſpects a very deſirable woman, (whether regard was had to her outward perſon, which wanted nothing to render her completely comely; or to the endowments of her mind, which were every way extraordinary, and highly obliging; or to her outward fortune, which was fair, and which with ſome hath not the laſt, nor the leaſt place in conſideration) ſhe was openly and ſecretly ſought, and ſolicited by many, and ſome of them almoſt of every rank and condition; good and bad, rich and poor, friend and foe. To whom, in their reſpective turns, (till he at length came for whom ſhe was reſerved) ſhe carried herſelf

herſelf with ſo much evenneſs of temper, ſuch courteous freedom, guarded with the ſtricteſt modeſty, that as it gave encouragement, or ground of hopes to none, ſo neither did it adminiſter any matter of offence, or juſt cauſe of complaint to any.

But ſuch as were thus either engaged for themſelves, or deſirous to make themſelves advocates for others, could not, I obſerved, but look upon me with an eye of jealouſy and fear, that I would improve the opportunities I had, by frequent and familiar converſation with her, to my own advantage, in working myſelf into her good opinion and favour, to the ruin of their pretences.

According therefore to the ſeveral kinds and degrees of their fears of me, they ſuggeſted to her parents their ill ſurmiſes againſt me.

Some ſtuck not to queſtion the ſincerity of my intentions, in coming at firſt among the Quakers; urging with a Why may it not be ſo? that the deſire and hopes of obtaining, by that means, ſo fair a fortune, might be the prime and chief inducement to me, to thruſt myſelf amongſt that people. But this ſurmiſe could find no place with thoſe worthy friends of mine, (her father-in-law and her mother) who, beſides the clear ſenſe and ſound judgment they had in themſelves, knew very well upon what terms I came among them, how ſtraight and hard the paſſage was to me, how contrary to all worldly intereſt (which lay fair another way) how much I had ſuffered from my

father for it, and how regardleſs I had been of attempting or ſeeking any thing of that nature, in theſe three or four years that I had been amongſt them.

Some others, meaſuring me by the propenſity of their own inclinations, concluded I would ſteal her, run away with her, and marry her. Which they thought I might be the more eaſily induced to do, from the advantageous opportunities I frequently had of riding and walking abroad with her, by night as well as by day, without any other company than her maid. For ſo great indeed was the confidence that her mother had in me, that ſhe thought her daughter ſafe if I was with her, even from the plots and deſigns that others had upon her. And ſo honourable were the thoughts ſhe entertained concerning me, as would not ſuffer her to admit a ſuſpicion, that I could be capable of ſo much baſeneſs, as to betray the truſt ſhe, with ſo great freedom, repoſed in me.

I was not ignorant of the various fears which filled the jealous heads of ſome concerning me, neither was I ſo ſtupid, nor ſo diveſted of all humanity, as not to be ſenſible of the real and innate worth and virtue which adorned that excellent dame, and attracted the eyes and hearts of ſo many, with the greateſt importunity to ſeek and ſolicit her. But the force of truth, and ſenſe of honour, ſuppreſt whatever would have riſen beyond the bounds of fair and virtuous friendſhip. For I eaſily foreſaw, that if I ſhould have attempted any thing in a diſhonourable way, by force or fraud upon

upon her, I ſhould have thereby brought a wound upon mine own ſoul, a foul ſcandal upon my religious profeſſion, and an infamous ſtain upon mine honour; either of which was far more dear unto me than my life. Wherefore, having obſerved how ſome others had befooled themſelves, by miſconſtruing her common kindneſs, (expreſſed in an innocent, open, free, and familiar converſation, ſpringing from the abundant affability, courteſy, and ſweetneſs of her natural temper) to be the effect of a ſingular regard and peculiar affection to them; I reſolved to ſhun the rock on which I had ſeen ſo many run and ſplit; and remembering that ſaying of the Poet,

Fælix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

——————————— Happy's he,
Whom others dangers wary make to be.

I governed myſelf in a free yet reſpectful carriage towards her, that I thereby both preſerved a fair reputation with my friends, and enjoyed as much of her favour and kindneſs, in a virtuous and firm friendſhip, as was fit for her to ſhew, or for me to ſeek.

Thus leading a quiet and contented life, I had leiſure ſometimes to write a copy of verſes, on one occaſion or another, as the poetick vein naturally opened, without taking pains to poliſh them. Such was this which follows, occaſioned by the ſudden death of ſome luſty people in their full ſtrength:

EST VITA CADUCA.

AS is the fragrant flower in the field,
Which in the ſpring a pleaſant ſmell doth yield,
And lovely ſight; but ſoon is withered:
So's MAN: to-day alive, to-morrow dead.
And as the ſilver-dew-beſpangled graſs,
Which in the morn bedecks its mother's face,
But ere the ſcorching ſummer's paſt, looks brown,
Or by the ſcythe is ſuddenly cut down.
Juſt ſuch is Man, who vaunts himſelf to-day,
Decking himſelf in all his beſt array;
But in the midſt of all his bravery,
Death rounds him in the ear, 'Friend, thou muſt die.'
Or like a ſhadow in a ſunny day,
Which in a moment vaniſheth away;
Or like a ſmile, or ſpark; ſuch is the ſpan
Of life, allow'd this microcoſm, MAN.
Ceaſe then vain man to boaſt; for this is true,
Thy brighteſt glory's as the morning dew,
Which diſappears when firſt the riſing ſun
Diſplays his beams above the horizon.

As the conſideration of the Uncertainty of Human Life drew the foregoing lines from me, ſo the ſenſe I had of the FOLLY of MANKIND, in miſ-ſpending the little time allowed them, in evil ways and vain ſports, led me more particularly to trace the ſeveral courſes, wherein

wherein the generality of men run, unprofitably at beſt, if not to their hurt and ruin: which I introduced with that axiom of the Preacher, Eccleſ. i. 2,

ALL IS VANITY.

See here the State of MAN *as in a Glaſs,*
And how the Faſhion of this World doth paſs.

SOME in a tavern ſpend the longeſt day,
While others hawk and hunt the time away.
Here one his miſtreſs courts; another dances;
A third incites to luſt by wanton glances.
This waſtes the day in dreſſing; th' other ſeeks
To ſet freſh colours on her with'red cheeks,
That, when the ſun declines, ſome dapper ſpark
May take her to Spring-garden, or the Park.
Plays ſome frequent, and balls; others their prime
Conſume at dice; ſome bowl away their time.
With cards ſome wholly captivated are;
From tables others ſcarce an hour can ſpare.
One to ſoft muſick mancipates his ear;
At ſhovel-board another ſpends the year.
The Pall-mall this accounts the only ſport;
That keeps a racket in the tennis-court.

Some ſtrain their very eyes and throats with ſinging,
While others ſtrip their hands and backs at ringing.
Another ſort with greedy eyes are waiting
Either at cock-pit, or ſome great bull-baiting.
This dotes on running-horſes; t'other fool
Is never well, but in the fencing-ſchool.
Wreſtling and football, nine-pins, priſon-baſe,
Among the rural clowns find each a place.
Nay, Joan unwaſh'd will leave her milking-pail,
To dance at may-pole, or a whitſun-ale.
Thus wallow moſt in ſenſual delight,
As if their day ſhould never have a night;
Till nature's pale-fac'd ſerjeant them ſurprize,
And as the tree then falls, juſt ſo it lies.
Now look at home, thou who theſe lines doſt read,
See which of all theſe paths thyſelf doſt tread;
And ere it be too late that path forſake,
Which, follow'd, will thee miſerable make.

After I had thus enumerated ſome of the many vanities, in which the generality of men miſ-ſpent their time, I ſang the following ODE in praiſe of VIRTUE:

WEALTH, beauty, pleaſures, honours, all adieu;
I value VIRTUE far, far more than you.
Y'are all but toys
For girls and boys
To play withal; at beſt deceitful joys.

She

She lives for ever; ye are tranſitory.
Her honour is unſtained; but your glory
Is meer deceit,
A painted bait,
Hung out for ſuch as ſit at Folly's gate.
True peace, content, and joy, on her attend;
You (on the contrary) your forces bend
To blear mens eyes,
With fopperies,
Which fools embrace, but wiſer men deſpiſe.

About this time my father, reſolving to ſell his eſtate, and having reſerved for his own uſe ſuch parts of his houſhold goods as he thought fit, not willing to take upon himſelf the trouble of ſelling the reſt, gave them unto me: whereupon I went down to Crowell, and having before given notice there and thereabouts, that I intended a publick ſale of them, I ſold them, and thereby put ſome money into my pocket. Yet I ſold ſuch things only as I judged uſeful; leaving the pictures and armour, of which there was ſome ſtore there, unſold.

Not long after this my father ſent for me to come to him at London, about ſome buſineſs; which, when I came there, I underſtood was to join with him in the ſale of his eſtate, which the purchaſer required for his own ſatisfaction and ſafety, I being then the next heir

to it in law. And although I might probably have made ſome advantageous terms for myſelf by ſtanding off, yet when I was ſatisfied by counſel, that there was no entail upon it, or right of reverſion to me, but that he might lawfully diſpoſe of it as he pleaſed, I readily joined with him in the ſale, without aſking or having the leaſt gratuity or compenſation; no, not ſo much as the fee I had given to counſel, to ſecure me from any danger in doing it.

There having been, ſometime before this, a very ſevere law made againſt the Quakers by name; and more particularly, prohibiting our meetings under the ſharpeſt penalties of five pounds for the firſt offence, ſo called; ten pounds for the ſecond, and baniſhment for the third; under pain of felony for eſcaping or returning without licenſe. Which law was looked upon to have been procured by the Biſhops, in order to bring us to a conformity to their way of worſhip: I wrote a few lines in way of Dialogue between a Biſhop and a Quaker, which I called

CONFORMITY, PREST and REPREST.

B. *WHAT! You are one of them that do deny*
To yield obedience by conformity.
Q. Nay: we deſire conformable to be.
B. *But unto what?* Q. The Image of the Son.*
B. *What's that to us! We'll have conformity*
Unto our form. Q. Then we ſhall ne'er have done.

* Rom. viii. 9.

For,

For, if your fickle minds ſhould alter, we
Should be to ſeek a new conformity.
Thus who to-day conform to Prelacy,
To-morrow may conform to Popery.
But take this for an anſwer, Biſhop, we
Cannot conform either to them, or thee.
For while to truth your forms are oppoſite,
Whoe'er conforms thereto doth not aright.

B. *We'll make ſuch knaves as you conform, or lie*
Confin'd in priſons, till ye rot and die.

Q. Well, gentle Biſhop, I may live to ſee,
For all thy threats, a check to cruelty;
But, in the mean time, I, for my defence,
Betake me to my fortreſs, PATIENCE.

No ſooner was this cruel law made, but it was put in execution with great ſeverity. The ſenſe whereof working ſtrongly on my ſpirit, made me cry earneſtly to the Lord, that he would ariſe and ſet up his righteous judgment in the earth, for the deliverance of his people from all their enemies, both inward and outward: and in theſe terms I uttered it:

AWAKE, awake, O arm o'th' LORD, awake,
Thy ſword up take;
Caſt what would thine forgetful of Thee make,
Into the lake.
Awake, I pray, O mighty Jah, awake,

Make all the world before Thy preſence quake,
Not only earth, but heaven alſo ſhake.
Ariſe, ariſe, O Jacob's God, ariſe,
And hear the cries
Of ev'ry ſoul which in diſtreſs now lies,
And to Thee flies.
Ariſe, I pray, O Iſrael's hope, ariſe,
Set free Thy ſeed, oppreſt by enemies.
Why ſhould they over it ſtill tyrannize!
Make ſpeed, make ſpeed, O Iſrael's help, make ſpeed,
In time of need;
For evil men have wickedly decreed
Againſt Thy ſeed.
Make ſpeed, I pray, O mighty God, make ſpeed,
Let all Thy lambs from ſavage wolves be freed,
That fearleſs on Thy mountain they may feed.
Ride on, ride on, thou valiant man of might,
And put to flight
Thoſe ſons of Belial, who do deſpight
To the upright.
Ride on, I ſay, Thou Champion, and ſmite
Thine and Thy peoples en'mies with ſuch might,
That none may dare 'gainſt Thee, or Thine, to fight.

Although the ſtorm, raiſed by the act for baniſhment, fell with the greateſt weight and force upon ſome other parts, as at London, Hertford, &c. yet we

we were not, in Buckinghamſhire, wholly exempted therefrom, for a part of that ſhower reached us alſo.

For a friend of Amerſham, whoſe name was Edward Perot, or Parret, departing this life, and notice being given that his body would be buried there on ſuch a day, which was the firſt day of the fifth month, 1665, the friends of the adjacent parts of the country reſorted pretty generally to the burial; ſo that there was a fair appearance of friends and neighbours, the deceaſed having been well-beloved by both.

After we had ſpent ſome time together in the houſe, Morgan Watkins, who at that time happened to be at Iſaac Penington's, being with us, the body was taken up and borne on friend's ſhoulders along the ſtreet, in order to be carried to the burying-ground, which was at the town's end, being part of an orchard belonging to the deceaſed, which he in his life time had appointed for that ſervice.

It ſo happened, that one Ambroſe Benett, a barriſter at law, and a juſtice of the peace for that county, riding through the town that morning, in his way to Ayleſbury, was, by ſome ill-diſpoſed perſon or other, informed that there was a Quaker to be buried there that day, and that moſt of the Quakers in the country were come thither to the burial.

Upon this he ſet up his horſes and ſtaid; and when we, not knowing any thing of his deſign againſt us, went innocently forward, to perform our Chriſtian duty, for the interment of our friend, he ruſhed out

of

of his inn upon us, with the conſtables and a rabble of rude fellows, whom he had gathered together, and having his drawn ſword in his hand, ſtruck one of the foremoſt of the bearers with it, commanding them to ſet down the coffin. But the friend, who was ſo ſtricken, whoſe name was Thomas Dell, being more concerned for the ſafety of the dead body than his own, leſt it ſhould fall from his ſhoulder, and any indecency thereupon follow, held the coffin faſt; which the juſtice obſerving, and being enraged that his word (how unjuſt ſoever) was not forthwith obeyed, ſet his hand to the coffin, and with a forcible thruſt, threw it off from the bearer's ſhoulders, ſo that it fell to the ground in the midſt of the ſtreet, and there we were forced to leave it.

For immediately thereupon the juſtice giving command for the apprehending us, the conſtables with the rabble fell on us, and drew ſome, and drove others into the inn, giving thereby an opportunity to the reſt to walk away.

Of thoſe that were thus taken, I was one. And being, with many more, put into a room under a guard, we were kept there till another juſtice (called Sir Thomas Clayton, whom juſtice Benett had ſent for to join with him in committing us) was come. And then, being called forth ſeverally before them, they picked out ten of us, and committed us to Ayleſbury gaol, for what neither we nor they knew: for we were not convicted of having either done or

ſaid

ſaid any thing which the law could take hold of: for they took us up in the open ſtreet, (the king's high-way) not doing any unlawful act, but peaceably carrying and accompanying the corpſe of our deceaſed friend, to bury it: which they would not ſuffer us to do, but cauſed the body to lie in the open ſtreet, and in the cart-way; ſo that all the travellers that paſſed by, whether horſemen, coaches, carts, or waggons, were fain to break out of the way to go by it, that they might not drive over it, until it was almoſt night. And then having cauſed a grave to be made in the unconſecrated part (as it is accounted) of that which is called the church-yard, they forcibly took the body from the widow, whoſe right and property it was, and buried it there.

When the juſtices had delivered us priſoners to the conſtable, it being then late in the day, which was the ſeventh day of the week, he, not willing to go ſo far as Ayleſbury (nine long miles) with us that night, nor to put the town to the charge of keeping us there that night, and the firſt-day and night following, diſmiſt us upon our parole to come to him again at a ſet hour on the ſecond-day morning: whereupon we all went home to our reſpective habitations; and coming to him punctually according to promiſe, were by him, without guard, conducted to the priſon.

The gaoler, whoſe name was Nathaniel Birch, had not long before behaved himſelf very wickedly, with great rudeneſs and cruelty, to ſome of our friends of the

the lower ſide of the county, whom he, combining with the clerk of the peace, whoſe name was Henry Wells, had contrived to get into his gaol; and after they were legally diſcharged in court, detained them in priſon, uſing great violence, and ſhutting them up cloſe in the common gaol among the felons, becauſe they would not give him his unrighteous demand of fees; which they were the more ſtraitened in, from his treacherous dealing with them. And they having, through ſuffering, maintained their freedom, and obtained their liberty, we were the more concerned to keep what they had ſo hardly gained, and therefore reſolved not to make any contract or terms for either chamber-rent or fees, but to demand a free priſon, which we did.

When we came in, the gaoler was ridden out to wait on the judges, who came in that day to begin the aſſize, and his wife was ſomewhat at a loſs how to deal with us; but being a cunning woman, ſhe treated us with great appearance of courteſy, offering us the choice of all her rooms; and when we aſked upon what terms, ſhe ſtill referred us to her huſband; telling us ſhe did not doubt but that he would be very reaſonable and civil to us. Thus ſhe endeavoured to have drawn us to take poſſeſſion of ſome of her chambers at a venture, and truſt to her huſband's kind uſage. But we, who at the coſt of our friends, had a proof of his kindneſs, were too wary to be drawn in by the fair words of a woman, and therefore told her

her we would not ſettle any where till her huſband came home, and then would have a free priſon, whereſoever he put us.

Accordingly, walking all together into the court of the priſon, in which was a well of very good water, and having before-hand ſent to a friend in the town, a widow woman, whoſe name was Sarah Lambarn, to bring us ſome bread and cheeſe, we ſat down upon the ground round about the well, and when we had eaten, we drank of the water out of the well.

Our great concern was for our friend Iſaac Penington, becauſe of the tenderneſs of his conſtitution, but he was ſo lively in his ſpirit, and ſo cheerfully given up to ſuffer, that he rather encouraged us, than needed any encouragement from us.

In this poſture the gaoler, when he came home, found us; and having before he came to us conſulted his wife, and by her underſtood on what terms we ſtood, when he came to us, he hid his teeth, and putting on a ſhew of kindneſs, ſeemed much troubled that we ſhould ſit there abroad, eſpecially his old friend Mr. Penington, and thereupon invited us to come in, and take what rooms in his houſe we pleaſed. We aſked upon what terms; letting him know withal that we determined to have a free priſon.

He, like the ſun and wind in the fable, that ſtrove which of them ſhould take from the traveller his cloak, having, (like the wind) tried rough, boiſterous, violent means to our friends before, but in vain, reſolved

now

now to imitate the ſun, and ſhine as pleaſantly as he could upon us: wherefore he told us, we ſhould make the terms ourſelves, and be as free as we deſired: if we thought fit, when we were releaſed, to give him any thing, he would thank us for it, and if not, he would demand nothing.

Upon theſe terms we went in and diſpoſed ourſelves, ſome in the dwelling-houſe, others in the malt-houſe, where they choſe to be.

During the aſſize we were brought before judge Morton, a ſour angry man, who very rudely reviled us; but would not hear either us or the cauſe, but referred the matter to the two juſtices who had committed us.

They, when the aſſize was ended, ſent for us to be brought before them at their inn, and fined us, as I remember, ſix ſhillings and eightpence a-piece; which we not conſenting to pay, they committed us to priſon again for one month from that time, on the act for baniſhment.

When we had lain there that month, I, with another, went to the gaoler, to demand our liberty, which he readily granted, telling us the door ſhould be opened when we pleaſed to go.

This anſwer of his I reported to the reſt of my friends there, and thereupon we raiſed among us a ſmall ſum of money, which they put into my hand for the gaoler; whereupon I, taking another with me, went to the gaoler with the money in my hand, and reminding

reminding him of the terms upon which we accepted the uſe of his rooms, I told him, that although we could not pay chamber-rent or fees, yet, inaſmuch as he had now been civil to us, we were willing to acknowledge it by a ſmall token, and thereupon gave him the money. He, putting it into his pocket, ſaid, 'I thank you and your friends for it; and to let you 'ſee I take it as a gift, not a debt, I will not look on 'it to ſee how much it is.'

The priſon door being then ſet open for us, we went out, and departed to our reſpective homes.

But before I left the priſon, conſidering one day with myſelf the different kinds of liberty and confinement, freedom and bondage, I took my pen, and wrote the following ÆNIGMA or RIDDLE:

LO! here a riddle to the wiſe,
In which a myſtery there lies;
Read it therefore with that eye,
Which can diſcern a myſtery.

The RIDDLE.

Some men are free, while they in priſon lie;
Others, who ne'er ſaw priſon, captives die.

CAUTION.

He that can receive it, may;
He that cannot, let him ſtay
And not be haſty, but ſuſpend
His judgment till he ſees the end.

SOLU-

SOLUTION.

He only's free indeed, that's free from ſin,
And he is faſteſt bound, that's bound therein.

CONCLUSION.

This is the liberty I chiefly prize,
The other, without this, I can deſpiſe.

Some little time before I went to Ayleſbury priſon, I was deſired by my quondam maſter, Milton, to take an houſe for him in the neighbourhood where I dwelt, that he might go out of the city, for the ſafety of himſelf and his family, the peſtilence then growing hot in London. I took a pretty box for him in Giles Chalfont, a mile from me, of which I gave him notice, and intended to have waited on him, and ſeen him well ſettled in it, but was prevented by that impriſonment.

But now being releaſed, and returned home, I ſoon made a viſit to him, to welcome him into the country.

After ſome common diſcourſes had paſſed between us, he called for a manuſcript of his; which being brought he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me, and read it at my leiſure; and when I had ſo done, return it to him with my judgment thereupon.

When

When I came home, and had ſet myſelf to read it, I found it was that excellent Poem, which he intitled PARADISE LOST. After I had, with the beſt attention, read it through, I made him another viſit, and returned him his book, with due acknowledgment of the favour he had done me in communicating it to me. He aſked me how I liked it, and what I thought of it; which I modeſtly but freely told him; and after ſome further diſcourſe about it, I pleaſantly ſaid to him, 'Thou haſt ſaid much here of Paradiſe Loſt, but 'what haſt thou to ſay of Paradiſe Found?' He made me no anſwer, but ſat ſome time in a muſe; then brake off that diſcourſe, and fell upon another ſubject.

After the ſickneſs was over, and the city well cleanſed, and become ſafely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there, (which I ſeldom failed of doing, whenever my occaſions drew me to London) he ſhewed me his ſecond Poem, called PARADISE REGAINED, and in a pleaſant tone ſaid to me, 'This is owing to you, 'for you put it into my head by the queſtion you put to 'me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of.' But from this digreſſion I return to the family I then lived in.

We had not been long at home, (about a month perhaps) before Iſaac Penington was taken out of his houſe in an arbitrary manner, by military force, and carried priſoner to Ayleſbury gaol again; where he lay

lay three quarters of a year, with great hazard of his life, it being the ſickneſs year, and the plague being not only in the town, but in the gaol.

Meanwhile his wife and family were turned out of his houſe, called the Grange at Peter's Chalfont, by them who had ſeized upon his eſtate; and the family being by that means broken up, ſome went one way, others another. Mary Penington herſelf, with her younger children, went down to her huſband at Ayleſbury. Guli, with her maid, went to Briſtol, to ſee her former maid Anne Herſent, who was married to a merchant of that city, whoſe name was Thomas Biſs, and I went to Ayleſbury with the children; but not finding the place agreeable to my health, I ſoon left it, and returning to Chalfont, took a lodging, and was dieted in the houſe of a friendly man; and after ſome time went to Briſtol, to conduct Guli home.

Meanwhile Mary Penington took lodgings in a farm-houſe called Bottrels, in the pariſh of Giles Chalfont, where, when we returned from Briſtol, we found her.

We had been there but a very little time before I was ſent to priſon again upon this occaſion: There was, in thoſe times, a meeting once a month at the houſe of George Salter, a friend of Hedgerly, to which we ſometimes went; and Morgan Watkins being with us, he and I, with Guli and her maid, and one Judith Parker, wife of Dr. Parker, one of the College

College of Phyſicians at London, with a maiden daughter of theirs, (neither of whom were Quakers, but as acquaintance of Mary Penington were with her on a viſit) walked over to that meeting, it being about the middle of the firſt month, and the weather good.

This place was about a mile from the houſe of Ambroſe Benett, the juſtice, who the ſummer before had ſent me and ſome other friends to Ayleſbury priſon, from the burial of Edward Parret of Amerſham, and he, by what means I know not, getting notice not only of the meeting, but (as was ſuppoſed) of our being there, came himſelf to it; and as he came, catched up a ſtackwood-ſtick, big enough to have knocked any man down, and brought it with him hidden under his cloak.

Being come to the houſe, he ſtood for a while without the door, and out of ſight, liſtening to hear what was ſaid, for Morgan was then ſpeaking in the meeting. But certainly he heard very imperfectly, if it was true which we heard he ſaid afterwards among his companions, as an argument that Morgan was a Jeſuit, viz. That in his preaching he trolled over his Latin as fluently as ever he heard any one: whereas Morgan, (good man!) was better verſed in Welch than in Latin, which, I ſuppoſe, he had never learned: I am ſure he did not underſtand it.

When this martial juſtice, who at Amerſham had, with his drawn ſword, ſtruck an unarmed man, who he knew would not ſtrike again, had now ſtood ſome time

time abroad, on a ſudden he ruſhed in among us, with the ſtackwood ſtick held up in his hand ready to ſtrike, crying out, 'Make way there:' and an ancient woman not getting ſoon enough out of his way, he ſtruck her with the ſtick a ſhrewd blow over the breaſt. Then preſſing through the croud to the place where Morgan ſtood, he plucked him from thence, and cauſed ſo great a diſorder in the room, that it brake the meeting up; yet would not the people go away or diſperſe themſelves, but tarried to ſee what the iſſue would be.

Then taking pen and paper, he ſat down at the table among us, and aſked ſeveral of us our names, which we gave, and he ſet down in writing.

Amongſt others he aſked Judith Parker, the Doctor's wife, what her name was, which ſhe readily gave; and thence taking occaſion to diſcourſe him, ſhe ſo over-maſtered him by clear reaſon, delivered in fine language, that he, glad to be rid of her, ſtruck out her name and diſmiſt her; yet did not ſhe remove, but kept her place amongſt us.

When he had taken what number of names he thought fit, he ſingled out half a dozen, whereof Morgan was one, I another, one man more, and three women, of which the woman of the houſe was one, although her huſband then was, and for divers years before had been, a priſoner in the Fleet for tithes, and had no body to take care of his family and buſineſs but her his wife.

Us

Us ſix he committed to Ayleſbury gaol: which when the Doctor's wife heard him read to the conſtable, ſhe attacked him again, and having put him in mind that it was a ſickly time, and that the peſtilence was reported to be in that place, ſhe, in handſome terms, deſired him to conſider in time, how he would anſwer the cry of our blood, if by his ſending us to be ſhut up in an infected place, we ſhould loſe our lives there. This made him alter his purpoſe, and by a new mittimus ſent us to the houſe of correction at Wycombe. And although he committed us upon the act for baniſhment, which limited a certain time for impriſonment; yet he, in his mittimus, limited no time, but ordered us to be kept till we ſhould be delivered by due courſe of law; ſo little regardful was he, though a lawyer, of keeping to the letter of the law.

We were committed on the 13th day of the month called March, 1665, and were kept cloſe priſoners there till the 7th day of the month called June, which was ſome days above twelve weeks, and much above what the act required.

Then were we ſent for to the juſtice's houſe, and the reſt being releaſed, Morgan Watkins and I were required to find ſureties for our appearance at the next aſſize; which we refuſing to do, were committed a-new to our old priſon, the houſe of correction at Wycombe, there to lie until the next

aſſizes: Morgan being, in this ſecond mittimus, repreſented as a notorious offender in preaching, and I, as being upon the ſecond conviction, in order to baniſhment. There we lay till the 25th day of the ſame month; and then, by the favour of the Earl of Ancram, being brought before him at his houſe, we were diſcharged from the priſon, upon our promiſe to appear (if at liberty and in health) at the aſſizes: which we did, and were there diſcharged by proclamation.

During my impriſonment in this priſon, I betook myſelf for an employment to making of nets for kitchen-ſervice, to boil herbs, &c. in, which trade I learned of Morgan Watkins, and ſelling ſome, and giving others, I pretty well ſtocked the friends of that country with them.

Though in that confinement I was not very well ſuited with company for converſation, Morgan's natural temper not being very agreeable to mine; yet we kept a fair and brotherly correſpondence, as became friends, priſon-fellows, and bed-fellows, which we were. And indeed, it was a good time, I think, to us all, for I found it ſo to me; the Lord being graciouſly pleaſed to viſit my ſoul with the refreſhing dews of his divine life, whereby my ſpirit was more and more quickened to him, and truth gained ground in me over the temptations and ſnares of the enemy. Which frequently raiſed in my heart thankſgivings and

praiſes

praiſes unto the LORD. And at one time more eſpecially the ſenſe I had of the proſperity of truth, and the ſpreading thereof, filling my heart with abundant joy, made my cup overflow, and the following lines drop out:

For truth I ſuffer bonds, in truth I live,
And unto truth this teſtimony give,
'That TRUTH ſhall over all exalted be,
'And in dominion reign for evermore:'
The child's already born, that this may ſee,
Honour, praiſe, glory be to God therefore.

And underneath thus:

Tho' death and hell ſhould againſt truth combine,
It's glory ſhall through all their darkneſs ſhine.

This I ſaw with an eye of faith, beyond the reach of human ſenſe: for,

As ſtrong deſire,
Draws objects nigher
In apprehenſion, than indeed they are;
I, with an eye
That pierced high,
Did thus of truth's proſperity declare.

After we had been diſcharged at the aſſizes, I returned to Iſaac Penington's family at Bottrel's in Chalfont, and, as I remember, Morgan Watkins with me, leaving Iſaac Penington a priſoner in Ayleſbury gaol.

The lodgings we had in this farm houſe (Bottrel's) proving too ſtrait and inconvenient for the family, I took larger and better lodgings for them in Berrie-houſe at Amerſham, whither we went at the time called Michaelmas, having ſpent the ſummer at the other place.

Some time after was that memorable meeting appointed to be holden at London, through a divine opening in the motion of life, in that eminent ſervant and prophet of God, George Fox, for the reſtoring and bringing in again thoſe who had gone out from truth, and the holy unity of friends therein, by the means and miniſtry of John Perrot.

This man came pretty early amongſt friends, and too early took upon him the miniſterial office; and being, though little in perſon, yet great in opinion of himſelf, nothing leſs would ſerve him than to go and convert the Pope: in order whereunto, he having a better man than himſelf, John Luff, to accompany him, travelled to Rome, where they had not been long ere they were taken up, and clapped into priſon. Luff, as I remember, was put in the inquiſition, and Perrot in their bedlam or hoſpital for madmen.

Luff

Luff died in priſon, not without well-grounded ſuſpicion of being murdered there: but Perrot lay there ſome time, and now and then ſent over an epiſtle to be printed here, written in ſuch an affected and fantaſtick ſtile, as might have induced an indifferent reader to believe they had ſuited the place of his confinement to his condition.

After ſome time, through the mediation of friends (who hoped better of him than he proved) with ſome perſon of note and intereſt there, he was releaſed, and came back for England. And the report of his great ſufferings there, (far greater in report than in reality) joined with a ſingular ſhew of ſanctity, ſo far opened the hearts of many tender and compaſſionate friends towards him, that it gave him the advantage of inſinuating himſelf into their affections and eſteem, and made way for the more ready propagation of that peculiar error of his, of keeping on the hat in time of prayer, as well publick as private, unleſs they had an immediate motion at that time to put it off.

Now although I had not the leaſt acquaintance with this man, not having ever exchanged a word with him though I knew him by ſight; nor had I any eſteem of him, for either his natural parts, or miniſterial gift, but rather a diſlike of his aſpect, preaching, and way of writing; yet this error of his being broached in the time of my infancy, and weakneſs of judgment as to truth, (while I lived privately in London, and had little converſe with friends) I, amongſt the many who

were catched in that ſnare, was taken with the notion, as what then ſeemed to my weak underſtanding, ſuitable to the doctrine of a ſpiritual diſpenſation. And the matter coming to warm debates, both in words and writing, I, in a miſguided zeal, was ready to have entered the liſts of contention about it; not then ſeeing what ſpirit it proceeded from, and was managed by, nor foreſeeing the diſorder and confuſion in worſhip, which muſt naturally attend it.

But as I had no evil intention or ſiniſter end in engaging in it, but was ſimply betrayed by the ſpecious pretence and ſhew of greater ſpirituality, the LORD, in tender compaſſion to my ſoul, was graciouſly pleaſed to open my underſtanding, and give me a clear ſight of the enemy's deſign in this work, and drew me off from the practice of it, and to bear teſtimony againſt it as occaſion offered.

But when that ſolemn meeting was appointed at London, for a travail in ſpirit on behalf of thoſe who had thus gone out, that they might rightly return, and be ſenſibly received into the unity of the body again; my ſpirit rejoiced, and with gladneſs of heart I went to it, as did many more of both city and country, and with great ſimplicity and humility of mind, did honeſtly and openly acknowledge our outgoing, and take condemnation and ſhame to ourſelves. And ſome that lived at too remote a diſtance, in this nation, as well as beyond the ſeas, upon notice given of that meeting, and the intended ſervice of it, did the like,

by

by writing, in letters directed to and openly read in the meeting, which for that purpoſe was continued many days.

Thus, in the motion of life, were the healing waters ſtirred, and many, through the virtuous power thereof, reſtored to ſoundneſs, and indeed not many loſt. And though moſt of theſe who thus returned, were ſuch as with myſelf had before renounced the error, and forſaken the practice; yet did we ſenſibly find, that forſaking without confeſſing (in caſe of publick ſcandal) was not ſufficient; but that an open acknowledgment (of open offences) as well as forſaking them, was neceſſary to the obtaining complete remiſſion.

Not long after this, George Fox was moved of the Lord to travel through the countries, from county to county, to adviſe and encourage friends to ſet up Monthly and Quarterly meetings, for the better ordering the affairs of the church, in taking care of the poor, and exerciſing a true goſpel-diſcipline, for a due dealing with any that might walk diſorderly under our name, and to ſee that ſuch as ſhould marry among us, did act fairly and clearly in that reſpect.

When he came into this county, I was one of the many friends that were with him at the meeting for that purpoſe. And afterwards I travelled with Guli and her maid, into the Weſt of England to meet him there, and to viſit friends in thoſe parts; and we went as far as Topſham, in Devonſhire, before we found him. He had been in Cornwall, and was then re-

turning, and came in unexpectedly at Topſham, where we then were providing (if he had not then come thither) to have gone that day towards Cornwall. But after he was come to us, we turned back with him through Devonſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Dorſetſhire, having generally very good meetings where he was; and the work he was chiefly concerned in, went on very proſperouſly and well, without any oppoſition or diſlike; ſave that in the General-meeting of friends in Dorſetſhire, a quarrelſome man, who had gone out from friends in John Perrot's buſineſs, and had not come rightly in again, (but continued in the practice of keeping on his hat in time of prayer, to the great trouble and offence of friends) began to cavil and raiſe diſputes, which occaſioned ſome interruption and diſturbance.

Not only George and Alexander Parker, who was with him, but divers of the ancient friends of that country, endeavoured to quiet that troubleſome man, and make him ſenſible of his error; but his unruly ſpirit would ſtill be oppoſing what was ſaid unto him, and juſtifying himſelf in that practice. This brought a great weight and exerciſe upon me, who ſat at a diſtance in the outward part of the meeting; and after I had for ſome time bore the burthen thereof, I ſtood up in the conſtraining power of the LORD, and in great tenderneſs of ſpirit declared unto the meeting, and to that perſon more particularly, how it had been with me in that reſpect; how I had been betrayed into that

that wrong practice, how ſtrong I had been therein, and how the Lord had been graciouſly pleaſed to ſhew me the evil thereof, and recover me out of it.

This coming unexpectedly from me, a young man, a ſtranger, and one who had not intermeddled with the buſineſs of the meeting, had that effect upon the caviller, that if it did not ſatisfy him, it did at leaſt ſilence him, and made him for the preſent ſink down, and be ſtill, without giving any further diſturbance to the meeting. And the friends were well pleaſed with this unlooked for teſtimony from me, and I was glad that I had that opportunity to confeſs to the truth, and to acknowledge once more, in ſo publick a manner, the mercy and goodneſs of the Lord to me therein.

By the time we came back from this journey, the ſummer was pretty far gone, and the following winter I ſpent with the children of the family as before, without any remarkable alteration in my circumſtances, until the next ſpring, when I found in myſelf a diſpoſition of mind to change my ſingle life for a married ſtate.

I had always entertained ſo high a regard for marriage, as it was a divine inſtitution, that I held it not lawful to make it a ſort of political trade, to riſe in the world by. And therefore as I could not but, in my judgment, blame ſuch as I found made it their buſineſs to hunt after, and endeavour to gain thoſe who were accounted great fortunes; not ſo much regarding what ſhe is, as what ſhe has, but making

wealth the chief, if not the only thing they aimed at; ſo I reſolved to avoid, in my own practice, that courſe; and how much ſoever my condition might have prompted me, as well as others, to ſeek advantage that way, never to engage on the account of riches, nor at all to marry, till judicious affection drew me to it, which I now began to feel at work in my breaſt.

The object of this affection was a friend, whoſe name was Mary Ellis, whom for divers years I had had an acquaintance with, in the way of common friendſhip only; and in whom I thought I then ſaw thoſe fair prints of truth and ſolid virtue, which I afterwards found in a ſublime degree in her; but what her condition in the world was, as to eſtate, I was wholly a ſtranger to, nor deſired to know.

I had once, a year or two before, had an opportunity to do her a ſmall piece of ſervice, which ſhe wanted ſome aſſiſtance in; wherein I acted with all ſincerity and freedom of mind, not expecting or deſiring any advantage by her, or reward from her, being very well ſatisfied in the act itſelf, that I had ſerved a friend, and helped the helpleſs.

That little intercourſe of common kindneſs between us ended without the leaſt thought (I am verily perſuaded, on her part, well aſſured on my own) of any other or further relation than that of free and fair friendſhip; nor did it, at that time, lead us into any cloſer converſation, or more intimate acquaintance one with the other, than had been before.

But

But ſome time (and that a good while) after, I found my heart ſecretly drawn and inclining towards her; yet was I not haſty in propoſing, but waited to feel a ſatisfactory ſettlement of mind therein, before I made any ſtep thereto.

After ſome time, I took an opportunity to open my mind therein unto my much honoured friends Iſaac and Mary Penington, who then ſtood *parentum loco*, in the place or ſtead of parents to me. They having ſolemnly weighed the matter, expreſſed their unity therewith; and indeed their approbation thereof was no ſmall confirmation to me therein. Yet took I further deliberation, often retiring in ſpirit to the Lord, and crying to him for direction, before I addreſſed myſelf to her. At length, as I was ſitting all alone, waiting upon the Lord for counſel and guidance in this (in itſelf, and) to me ſo important affair, I felt a word ſweetly ariſe in me, as if I had heard a voice, which ſaid, 'Go, and prevail.' And faith ſpringing in my heart with the word, I immediately aroſe and went, nothing doubting.

When I was come to her lodgings, which were about a mile from me, her maid told me ſhe was in her chamber, (for having been under ſome indiſpoſition of body, which had obliged her to keep her chamber, ſhe had not yet left it;) wherefore I deſired the maid to acquaint her miſtreſs, that I was come to give her a viſit; whereupon I was invited to go up to her. And after ſome little time ſpent in common converſa-

tion, feeling my ſpirit weightily concerned, I ſolemnly opened my mind unto her, with reſpect to the particular buſineſs I came about; which I ſoon perceived was a great ſurpriſal to her, for ſhe had taken in an apprehenſion, as others alſo had done, that mine eye had been fixed elſewhere, and nearer home.

I uſed not many words to her; but I felt a divine power went along with the words, and fixed the matter expreſſed by them ſo faſt in her breaſt, that (as ſhe afterwards acknowledged to me) ſhe could not ſhut it out.

I made at that time but a ſhort viſit. For having told her I did not expect an anſwer from her now, but deſired ſhe would, in the moſt ſolemn manner, weigh the propoſal made, and in due time give me ſuch an anſwer thereunto, as the Lord ſhould give her, I took my leave of her, and departed, leaving the iſſue to the Lord.

I had a journey then at hand, which I foreſaw would take me up two weeks time. Wherefore, the day before I was to ſet out, I went to viſit her again, to acquaint her with my journey, and excuſe my abſence; not yet preſſing her for an anſwer, but aſſuring her, that I felt in myſelf an increaſe of affection to her, and hoped to receive a ſuitable return from her in the Lord's time; to whom, in the mean time, I committed both her, myſelf, and the concern between us. And indeed I found, at my return, that I could not have left it in a better hand; for the Lord had

had been my advocate in my abſence, and had ſo far anſwered all her objections, that when I came to her again, ſhe rather acquainted me with them than urged them.

From that time forwards we entertained each other with affectionate kindneſs, in order to marriage; which yet we did not haſten to, but went on deliberately. Neither did I uſe thoſe vulgar ways of courtſhip, by making frequent and rich preſents; not only for that my outward condition would not comport with the expenſe, but becauſe I liked not to obtain by ſuch means; but preferred an unbribed affection.

While this affair ſtood thus with me, I had occaſion to take another journey into Kent and Suſſex; which yet I would not mention here, but for a particular accident which befel me on the way.

The occaſion of this journey was this: Mary Penington's daughter Guli, intending to go to her uncle Springett's, in Suſſex, and from thence amongſt her tenants, her mother deſired me to accompany her, and aſſiſt her in her buſineſs with her tenants.

We tarried at London the firſt night, and ſet out next morning on the Tunbridge Road, and Seven Oak lying in our way, we put in there to bait: but truly, we had much ado to get either proviſions or room for ourſelves or our horſes, the houſe was ſo filled with gueſts, and thoſe not of the better ſort. For the Duke of York being, as we were told, on the road that day for the wells, divers of his guards,

and

and the meaner ſort of his retinue, had near filled all the inns there.

I left John Gigger, who waited on Guli in this journey, and was afterwards her menial ſervant, to take care for the horſes, while I did the like, as well as I could for her. I got a little room to put her into, and having ſhut her into it, went to ſee what relief the kitchen would afford us; and with much ado, by praying hard, and paying dear, I got a ſmall joint of meat from the ſpit, which ſerved rather to ſtay than ſatisfy our ſtomachs, for we were all pretty ſharp ſet.

After this ſhort repaſt, being weary of our quarters, we quickly mounted, and took the road again, willing to haſten from a place where we found nothing but rudeneſs: a knot of [rude people] ſoon followed us, deſigning, as we afterwards found, to put an abuſe upon us, and make themſelves ſport with us. We had a ſpot of fine ſmooth ſandy way, whereon the horſes trod ſo ſoftly, that we heard them not till one of them was upon us. I was then riding a-breaſt with Guli, and diſcourſing with her; when on a ſudden hearing a little noiſe, and turning mine eye that way, I ſaw an horſeman coming up on the further ſide of her horſe, having his left arm ſtretched out, juſt ready to take her about the waſte, and pluck her off backwards from her own horſe, to lay her before him upon his. I had but juſt time to thruſt forth my ſtick between him and her, and bid him ſtand off;

and

and at the ſame time reining my horſe, to let her's go before me, thruſt in between her and him, and being better mounted than he, my horſe run him off. But his horſe being (though weaker than mine, yet) nimble, he ſlipped by me, and got up to her on the near ſide, endeavouring to offer abuſe to her: to prevent which, I thruſt in upon him again, and in our joſtling, we drove her horſe quite out of the way, and almoſt into the next hedge.

While we were thus contending, I heard a noiſe of loud laughter behind us, and turning my head that way, I ſaw three or four horſemen more, who could ſcarce ſit their horſes for laughing, to ſee the ſport their companion made with us. From thence I ſaw it was a plot laid, and that this rude fellow was not to be dallied with; wherefore I beſtirred myſelf the more to keep him off, admoniſhing him to take warning in time, and give over his abuſiveneſs, leſt he repented too late. He had in his hand a ſhort thick truncheon, which he held up at me; on which laying hold with a ſtrong gripe, I ſuddenly wrenched it out of his hand, and threw it at as far a diſtance behind me as I could.

While he rode back to fetch his truncheon, I called up honeſt John Gigger, who was indeed a right honeſt man, and of a temper ſo thoroughly peaceable, that he had not hitherto put in at all. But now I rouzed him, and bid him ride ſo cloſe up to his miſtreſs's horſe on the further ſide, that no horſe might thruſt in between

between, and I would endeavour to guard the near ſide. But he, good man, not thinking it, perhaps, decent enough for him to ride ſo near his miſtreſs, left room enough for another to ride between. And indeed ſo ſoon as our brute had recovered his truncheon, he came up directly thither, and had thruſt in again, had not I, by a nimble turn, chopped in upon him, and kept him at a bay.

I then told him I had hitherto ſpared him, but wiſhed him not to provoke me further. This I ſpake with ſuch a tone, as beſpake an high reſentment of the abuſe put upon us, and withal preſſed ſo cloſe upon him with my horſe, that I ſuffered him not to come up any more to Guli.

This, his companions, who kept an equal diſtance behind us, both heard and ſaw, and thereupon two of them advancing, came up to us. I then thought I might likely have my hands full, but Providence turned it otherwiſe. For they, ſeeing the conteſt riſe ſo high, and probably fearing it would riſe higher, not knowing where it might ſtop, came in to part us; which they did, by taking him away, one of them leading his horſe by the bridle, and the other driving him on with his whip, and ſo carried him off.

One of their company ſtaid yet behind. And it ſo happening that a great ſhower juſt then fell, we betook ourſelves for ſhelter to a thick and well ſpread oak, which ſtood hard by. Thither alſo came that other perſon, who wore the Duke's livery, and while we

we put on our defenſive garments againſt the weather, which then ſet in to be wet, he took the opportunity to diſcourſe with me about the man that had been ſo rude to us, endeavouring to excuſe him, by alledging that he had drank a little too liberally. I let him know, that one vice would not excuſe another; that although but one of them was actually concerned in the abuſe, yet both he and the reſt of them were abettors of it, and acceſſaries to it; that I was not ignorant whoſe livery they wore, and was well aſſured their lord would not maintain them in committing ſuch outrages upon travellers on the road, to our injury, and his diſhonour; that I underſtood the Duke was coming down, and that they might expect to be called to an account for this rude action.

He then begged hard that we would paſs by the offence, and make no complaint to their lord; for he knew, he ſaid, the Duke would be very ſevere, and it would be the utter ruin of the young man. When he had ſaid what he could, he went off before us, without any ground given him to expect favour; and when we had fitted ourſelves for the weather, we followed after our own pace.

When we came to Tunbridge, I ſet John Gigger foremoſt, bidding him lead on briſkly through the town, and placing Guli in the middle, I came cloſe up after her, that I might both obſerve, and interpoſe, if any freſh abuſe ſhould have been offered her. We were expected, I perceived, for though it rained very hard,

hard, the ſtreet was thronged with men, who looked very earneſtly on us, but did not put any affront upon us.

We had a good way to ride beyond Tunbridge, and beyond the wells, in bye-ways among the woods, and were the later for the hindrance we had had on the way. And when, being come to Harbert Springett's houſe, Guli acquainted her uncle what danger and trouble ſhe had gone through on the way; he reſented it ſo high, that he would have had the perſons been proſecuted for it. But ſince Providence had interpoſed, and ſo well preſerved and delivered her, ſhe choſe to paſs by the offence.

When Guli had finiſhed the buſineſs ſhe went upon, we returned home, and I delivered her ſafe to her glad mother. From that time forward, I continued my viſits to my beſt beloved friend, until we married, which was on the 28th day of the eighth month, called October, in the year 1669. We took each other in a ſelect meeting, of the ancient and grave friends of that country, holden in a friend's houſe, where in thoſe times not only the Monthly-Meeting for Buſineſs but the Publick Meeting for Worſhip, was ſometimes kept. A very ſolemn meeting it was, and in a weighty frame of ſpirit we were, in which we ſenſibly felt the Lord with us, and joining us; the ſenſe whereof remained with us all our life-time, and was of good ſervice, and very comfortable to us on all occaſions.

My

My next care, after marriage, was to ſecure my wife what monies ſhe had, and with herſelf beſtowed upon me. For I held it would be an abominable crime in me, and ſavour of the higheſt ingratitude, if I, though but through negligence, ſhould leave room for my father (in caſe I ſhould be taken away ſuddenly) to break in upon her eſtate, and deprive her of any part of that which had been and ought to be her own. Wherefore with the firſt opportunity (as I remember, the very next day, and before I knew particularly what ſhe had) I made my will, and thereby ſecured to her whatever I was poſſeſſed of, as well all that which ſhe brought, either in monies or in goods, as that little which I had before I married her; which indeed was but little, yet more [by all that little] than I had ever given her ground to expect with me.

She had indeed been adviſed by ſome of her relations, to ſecure before marriage ſome part at leaſt, of what ſhe had, to be at her own diſpoſal. Which, though perhaps not wholly free from ſome tincture of ſelf-intereſt in the propoſer, was not in itſelf the worſt of counſel. But the worthineſs of her mind, and the ſenſe of the ground on which ſhe received me, would not ſuffer her to entertain any ſuſpicion of me: and this laid on me the greater obligation, in point of gratitude, as well as of juſtice, to regard and ſecure her; which I did.

I had not been long married before I was ſolicited by my dear friends Iſaac and Mary Penington, and her daughter

daughter Guli, to take a journey into Kent and Suſſex, to accompt with their tenants, and overlook their eſtates in thoſe counties, which, before I was married, I had had the care of; and accordingly the journey I undertook, though in the depth of winter.

My travels into thoſe parts were the more irkſome to me, from the ſolitarineſs I underwent, and want of ſuitable ſociety. For my buſineſs lying among the tenants, who were a ruſtick ſort of people, of various perſuaſions and humours, but not friends, I had little opportunity of converſing with friends; though I contrived to be with them as much as I could, eſpecially on the firſt day of the week.

But that which made my preſent journey more heavy to me, was a ſorrowful exerciſe which was newly fallen upon me from my father.

He had, upon my firſt acquainting him with my inclination to marry, and to whom, not only very much approved the match, and voluntarily offered, without my either aſking or expecting, to give me a handſome portion at preſent, with aſſurance of an addition to it hereafter. And he not only made this offer to me in private, but came down from London into the country on purpoſe, to be better acquainted with my friend; and did there make the ſame propoſal to her; offering alſo to give ſecurity to any friend or relation of hers for the performance. Which offer ſhe moſt generouſly declined, leaving him as free as ſhe found him. But after we were married, notwithſtanding

withſtanding ſuch his promiſe, he wholly declined the performance of it, under pretence of our not being married by the prieſt and liturgy. This uſage and evil treatment of us thereupon, was a great trouble to me; and when I endeavoured to ſoften him in the matter, he forbid me ſpeaking to him of it any more, and removed his lodging that I might not find him.

The grief I conceived on this occaſion, was not for any diſappointment to myſelf, or to my wife; for neither ſhe nor I had any ſtrict or neceſſary dependence upon that promiſe; but my grief was for the cauſe aſſigned by him, as the ground of it; which was, That our marriage was not by prieſt or liturgy.

And ſurely hard would it have been for my ſpirit to have borne up under the weight of this exerciſe, had not the LORD been exceeding gracious to me, and ſupported me with the in-flowings of his love and life, wherewith he viſited my ſoul in my travail. The ſenſe whereof raiſed in my heart a thankful remembrance of his manifold kindneſſes in his former dealings with me. And in the evening, when I came to my inn, while ſupper was getting ready, I took my pen, and put into words what had in the day revolved in my thoughts. And thus it was:

A SONG OF PRAISE.

THY Love, dear Father, and thy tender care,
Have in my heart begot a ſtrong deſire,

To

To celebrate Thy name with praiſes rare,
That others too Thy goodneſs may admire,
And learn to yield to what Thou doſt require.
Many have been the trials of my mind,
My exerciſes great, great my diſtreſs;
Full oft my ruin hath my foe deſign'd,
My ſorrows then my pen cannot expreſs,
Nor could the beſt of men afford redreſs.
When thus beſet, to Thee I lift mine eye,
And with a mournful heart my moan did make;
How oft with eyes o'erflowing did I cry,
'My God, my God, O do me not forſake!
'Regard my tears! ſome pity on me take!'
And to the glory of Thy holy name,
Eternal God, whom I both love and fear,
I hereby do declare, I never came
Before Thy throne, and found Thee loth to hear;
But always ready, with an open ear.
And tho' ſometimes Thou ſeem'ſt Thy face to hide,
As one that had withdrawn Thy love from me,
'Tis that my faith may to the full be try'd,
And that I thereby may the better ſee
How weak I am, when not upheld by Thee.
For underneath Thy holy arm I fell,
Encompaſſing with ſtrength as with a wall,
That, if the enemy trip up my heel,
Thou ready art to ſave me from a fall:
To Thee belong thankſgivings over all.

And for Thy tender love, my God, my King,
My heart ſhall magnify Thee all my days,
My tongue of Thy renown ſhall daily ſing,
My pen ſhall alſo grateful trophies raiſe,
As monuments to Thy eternal praiſe.

T. E.

Kent, the Eleventh Month,
1669.

Having finiſhed my buſineſs in Kent, I ſtruck off into Suſſex, and finding the enemy endeavouring ſtill more ſtrongly to beſet me, I betook myſelf to the Lord for ſafety, in whom I knew all help and ſtrength was; and thus poured forth my ſupplication, directed

To the HOLY ONE.

ETERNAL God! preſerver of all thoſe
(Without reſpect of perſon or degree)
Who in Thy faithfulneſs their truſt repoſe,
And place their confidence alone in Thee;
Be Thou my ſuccour; for Thou know'ſt that I
On Thy protection, Lord, alone rely.
Surround me, Father, with Thy mighty pow'r,
Support me daily by Thine holy arm,
Preſerve me faithful in the evil hour,
Stretch forth Thine hand, to ſave me from all harm.
Be Thou my helmet, breaſt-plate, ſword, and ſhield,
And make my foes before Thy power yield.

Teach

Teach me the ſpirit'al battle ſo to fight,
That when the enemy ſhall me beſet,
Arm'd cap-a-pe with th' armour of Thy light,
A perfect conqueſt o'er him I may get;
And with Thy battle-axe may cleave the head
Of him, who bites that part whereon I tread.
Then being from domeſtick foes ſet free,
The cruelties of men I ſhall not fear;
But in Thy quarrel, LORD, undaunted be,
And, for Thy ſake, the loſs of all things bear.
Yea, though in dungeon lock'd, with joy will ſing
An Ode of Praiſe to Thee, my God, my King.

T. E.

Suſſex, the Eleventh Month, 1669.

As ſoon as I had diſpatched the buſineſs I went about, I returned home without delay, and to my great comfort found my wife well, and myſelf very welcome to her; both which I eſteemed as great favours.

Towards the latter part of the ſummer following, I went into Kent again, and in my paſſage through London, received the unwelcome news of the loſs of a very hopeful youth, who had formerly been under my care for education. It was Iſaac Penington, (the ſecond ſon of my worthy friends Iſaac and Mary Penington) a child of excellent natural parts, whoſe great

great abilities beſpake him likely to be a great man, had he lived to be a man. He was deſigned to be bred a merchant, and before he was thought ripe enough to be entered thereunto, his parents, at ſomebody's requeſt, gave leave that he might go a voyage to Barbadoes, only to ſpend a little time, ſee the place, and be ſomewhat acquainted with the ſea, under the care and conduct of a choice friend and ſailor, John Grove, of London, who was maſter of a veſſel, and traded to that iſland; and a little venture he had with him, made up by divers of his friends, and by me among the reſt. He made the voyage thither very well, found the watery element agreeable, had his health there, liked the place, was much pleaſed with his entertainment there, and was returning home with his little cargo, in return for the goods he carried out; when, on a ſudden, through unwarineſs, he dropped overboard, and (the veſſel being under ſail with a briſk gale) was irrecoverably loſt, notwithſtanding the utmoſt labour, care, and diligence of the maſter and ſailors to have ſaved him.

This unhappy accident took from the afflicted maſter all the pleaſure of his voyage, and he mourned for the loſs of this youth, as if it had been his own, yea, only ſon; for as he was in himſelf a man of a worthy mind, ſo the boy, by his witty and handſome behaviour in general, and obſequious carriage towards him in particular, had very much wrought himſelf into his favour.

As for me, I thought it one of the ſharpeſt ſtrokes I had met with, for I both loved the child very well, and had conceived great hopes of general good from him; and it pierced me the deeper, to think how deeply it would pierce his afflicted parents.

Sorrow for this diſaſter was my companion in this journey, and I travelled the roads under great exerciſe of mind, revolving in my thoughts the manifold accidents which the life of man was attended with, and ſubject to, and the great uncertainty of all human things; I could find no centre, no firm baſis, for the mind of man to fix upon, but the Divine Power and Will of the Almighty. This conſideration wrought in my ſpirit a ſort of contempt of what ſuppoſed happineſs or pleaſure this world, or the things that are in, and of it, can of themſelves yield, and raiſed my contemplation higher; which, as it ripened, and came to ſome degree of digeſtion, I breathed forth in mournful accents, thus:

SOLITARY

SOLITARY THOUGHTS

On the UNCERTAINTY *of* HUMAN THINGS,

OCCASIONED BY

The Sudden LOSS of an HOPEFUL YOUTH.

Tranſibunt cito, quæ vos manſura putatis.

Thoſe things ſoon will paſs away,
Which ye think will always ſtay.

WHAT ground, alas! has any man
To ſet his heart on things below,
Which, when they ſeem moſt like to ſtand,
Fly like an arrow from a bow!
Things ſubject to exterior ſenſe
Are to mutation moſt propenſe.
If ſtately houſes we erect,
And therein think to take delight,
On what a ſudden are we checkt,
And all our hopes made groundleſs quite!
One little ſpark in aſhes lays
What we were building half our days.
If on eſtate an eye we caſt,
And pleaſure there expect to find,
A ſecret providential blaſt
Gives diſappointment to our mind.
Who now's on top, ere long may feel
The circling motion of the wheel.

If we our tender babes embrace,
And comfort hope in them to have,
Alas, in what a little ſpace,
Is hope, with them, laid in the grave!
Whatever promiſeth content,
Is in a moment from us rent.
This world cannot afford a thing,
Which, to a well-compoſed mind,
Can any laſting pleaſure bring,
But in its womb its grave will find.
All things unto their center tend;
What had * beginning will have end.
But is there nothing then that's ſure,
For man to fix his heart upon?
Nothing that always will endure,
When all theſe tranſient things are gone?
Sad ſtate! where man, with grief oppreſt,
Finds nought whereon his mind may reſt.
O yes! there is a God above,
Who unto men is alſo nigh,
On whoſe unalterable love
We may with confidence rely,
No diſappointment can befall
Us, having him that's All in All.
If unto Him we faithful be,
It is impoſſible to miſs
Of whatſoever He ſhall ſee
Conducible unto our bliſs.

* Underſtand this of natural things.

What

What can of pleaſure him prevent,
Who hath the fountain of content?
In Him alone if we delight,
And in His precepts pleaſure take,
We ſhall be ſure to do aright,
'Tis not His nature to forſake.
A proper object's He alone,
For man to ſet his heart upon.

——— *Domino mens nixa quieta eſt.*

The mind which upon God is ſtay'd,
Shall with no trouble be diſmay'd.

T. E.

Kent, the 4th of the Seventh Month, 1670.

A copy of the foregoing lines, incloſed in a letter of condolance, I ſent by the firſt poſt into Buckinghamſhire, to my dear friends the afflicted parents; and upon my return home going to viſit them, we ſat down, and ſolemnly mixed our ſorrows and tears together.

About this time (as I remember) it was that ſome bickerings happening between ſome Baptiſts and ſome of the people called Quakers, in or about High Wycombe, in Buckinghamſhire, occaſioned by ſome reflecting words a Baptiſt preacher had publickly uttered in one of their meetings there, againſt the Quakers in general, and William Penn in particular: it came at length to this iſſue, that a meeting for a

publick diſpute was appointed, to be holden at Weſt Wycombe, between Jeremy Ives, who eſpouſed his brother's cauſe, and William Penn.

To this meeting, it being ſo near me, I went, rather to countenance the cauſe, than for any delight I took in ſuch work; for indeed, I have rarely found the advantage equivalent to the trouble and danger ariſing from thoſe conteſts. For which cauſe I would not chuſe them, as, being juſtly engaged, I would not refuſe them.

The iſſue of this proved better than I expected. For Ives having undertaken an ill cauſe, to argue againſt the divine light and univerſal grace, conferred by God on all men; when he had ſpent his ſtock of arguments, which he brought with him on that ſubject, finding his work go on heavily, and the auditory not well ſatisfied, ſtepped down from his ſeat and departed, with purpoſe to have broken up the aſſembly. But, except ſome few of his party who followed him, the people generally ſtaid, and were the more attentive to what was afterwards delivered amongſt them. Which Ives underſtanding, came in again, and in an angry railing manner, expreſſing his diſlike that we went not all away, when he did, gave more diſguſt to the people.

After the meeting was ended, I ſent to my friend Iſaac Penington (by his ſon and ſervant, who returned home, though it was late, that evening) a ſhort account of the buſineſs, in the following diſtich:

Prævaluit

Prævaluit VERITAS: *Inimici Terga dedere:*
Nos ſumus in tuto; Laus tribuenda Deo.

Which may be thus Engliſhed:

Truth hath prevail'd; the enemies did fly:
We are in ſafety; praiſe to God on high.

But both they and we had quickly other work found us; it ſoon became a ſtormy time. The clouds had been long gathering and threatened a tempeſt. The parliament had ſat ſome time before, and hatched that unaccountable law, which was called the Conventicle Act: (if that may be allowed to be called a law, by whomſoever made) which was ſo directly contrary to the fundamental laws of England, to common juſtice, equity, and right reaſon, as this manifeſtly was. For,

Firſt, It brake down and over-run the bounds and banks, anciently ſet for the defence and ſecurity of Engliſhmen's lives, liberties, and properties, viz. Trial by Juries. Inſtead thereof, directing and authorizing juſtices of the peace (and that too privately out of ſeſſions) to convict, fine, and by their warrants diſtrain upon offenders againſt it; directly contrary to the Great Charter.

Secondly, By that act the informers, who ſwear for their own advantage, as being thereby intitled to a third part of the fines, were many times concealed, driving on an underhand private trade; ſo that men might be, and often were convicted and fined, without having any notice or knowledge of it, till the officers

came and took away their goods, nor even then could they tell by whoſe evidence they were convicted. Than which, what could be more oppoſite to common juſtice? which requires that every man ſhould be openly charged, and have his accuſer face to face, that he might both anſwer for himſelf before he be convicted, and object to the validity of the evidence given againſt him.

Thirdly, By that act, the innocent were puniſhed for the offences of the guilty. If the wife or child was convicted of having been at one of thoſe aſſemblies, which by that act was adjudged unlawful; the fine was levied on the goods of the huſband or father of ſuch wife or child, though he was neither preſent at ſuch aſſembly, nor was of the ſame religious perſuaſion that they were of, but perhaps an enemy to it.

Fourthly, It was left in the arbitrary pleaſure of the juſtices, to lay half the fine for the houſe or ground where ſuch aſſembly was holden, and half the fine for a pretended unknown preacher; and the whole fines of ſuch and ſo many of the meeters as they ſhould account poor, upon any other or others of the people, who were preſent at the ſame meeting (not exceeding a certain limited ſum;) without any regard to equity or reaſon. And yet, ſuch blindneſs doth the ſpirit of perſecution bring on men, otherwiſe ſharp ſighted enough, that this unlawful, unjuſt, unequal, unreaſonable, and unrighteous law took place in almoſt all places, and was vigorouſly proſecuted againſt the meetings of

Diſſenters

Diſſenters in general, though the brunt of the ſtorm fell moſt ſharply on the people called Quakers; not that it ſeemed to be more particularly levelled at them, but that they ſtood more fair, ſteady, and open, as a butt to receive all the ſhot that came, while ſome others found means and freedom to retire to coverts for ſhelter.

No ſooner had the biſhops obtained this law, for ſuppreſſing all other meetings but their own, but ſome of the clergy of moſt ranks, and ſome others too, who were over-much bigotted to that party, beſtirred themſelves with might and main, to find out and encourage the moſt profligate wretches to turn informers; and to get ſuch perſons into parochial offices, as would be moſt obſequious to their commands, and ready at their beck, to put it into the moſt rigorous execution. Yet it took not alike in all places; but ſome were forwarder in the work than others, according as the agents, intended to be chiefly employed therein, had been prediſpoſed thereunto.

For in ſome parts of the nation care had been timely taken, by ſome not of the loweſt rank, to chuſe out ſome particular perſons (men of ſharp wit, cloſe countenances, pliant tempers, and deep diſſimulation) and ſend them forth among the ſectaries, ſo called; with inſtructions to thruſt themſelves into all ſocieties, conform to all, or any ſort of religious profeſſion, Proteus-like change their ſhapes, and transform themſelves from one religious appearance to another, as occaſion ſhould require. In a word, to be all things

to all; not that they might win ſome, but that they might, if poſſible, ruin all, at leaſt many.

The drift of this deſign was, that they who employed them might, by this means, get a full account what number of Diſſenter's meetings, of every ſort, there were in each county, and where kept; what number of perſons frequented them, and of what ranks; who amongſt them were perſons of eſtate, and where they lived; that when they ſhould afterwards have troubled the waters, they might the better know where, with moſt advantage, to caſt their nets.

He, of theſe emiſſaries, whoſe poſt was aſſigned him in this county of Bucks, adventured to thruſt himſelf upon a friend, under the counterfeit appearance of a Quaker; but being by the friend ſuſpected, and thereupon diſmiſt unentertained, he was forced to betake himſelf to an inn or alehouſe for accommodation. Long he had not been there, ere his unruly nature (not to be long kept under by the curb of a feigned ſobriety) broke forth into open profaneneſs; ſo true is that of the Poet,

Naturam expellas furca licet, uſque recurret.

To fudling now falls he with thoſe whom he found tippling there before; and who but he amongſt them! in him was then made good the proverb, *In Vino Veritas*; for in his cups he out with that which was, no doubt, to have been kept a ſecret. 'Twas to his pot companions

companions that, after his head was ſomewhat heated with ſtrong liquors, he diſcovered that he was ſent forth by Dr. Mew, the then Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, on the deſign before related, and under the protection of juſtice Morton, a warrant under whoſe hand and ſeal he there produced.

Senſible of his error too late, (when ſleep had reſtored him to ſome degree of ſenſe) and diſcouraged with this ill ſucceſs of his attempt upon the Quakers, he quickly left that place, and croſſing through the country, caſt himſelf among the Baptiſts, at a meeting which they held in a private place; of which, the over-eaſy credulity of ſome that went among them, whom he had craftily inſinuated himſelf into, had given him notice. The entertainment he found amongſt them, deſerved a better return than he made them: for, having ſmoothly wrought himſelf into their good opinion, and cunningly drawn ſome of them into an unwary openneſs and freedom of converſation with him, upon the unpleaſing ſubject of the ſeverity of thoſe times, he moſt villainouſly impeached one of them, whoſe name was ——— Headach, a man well reputed amongſt his neighbours, of having ſpoken treaſonable words; and thereby brought the man in danger of loſing both his eſtate and life, had not a ſeaſonable diſcovery of his abominable practices elſewhere, (imprinting terror, the effect of guilt upon him) cauſed him to fly both out of the court and country, at that very inſtant of time, when the honeſt

man ſtood at the bar, ready to be arraigned upon his falſe accuſation.

This his falſe charge againſt that Baptiſt, left him no further room to play the hypocrite in thoſe parts. Off therefore go his cloak and vizor. And now he openly appears in his proper colours, to diſturb the aſſemblies of God's people; which was indeed the very end, for which the deſign at firſt was laid.

But becauſe the law provided, that a conviction muſt be grounded upon the oaths of two witneſſes, it was needful for him, in order to the carrying on his intended miſchief, to find out an aſſociate, who might be both ſordid enough for ſuch an employment, and vicious enough to be his companion.

This was not an eaſy taſk; yet he found out one, who had already given an experiment of his readineſs to take other men's goods, being not long before releaſed out of Ayleſbury gaol, where he very narrowly eſcaped the gallows, for having ſtolen a cow.

The names of theſe fellows being yet unknown in that part of the country where they began their work, the former, by the general voice of the country, was called the Trepan; the latter, the Informer, and from the colour of his hair Red-head. But in a little time the Trepan called himſelf John Poulter, adding withal, that judge Morton uſed to call him John for the King; and that the archbiſhop of Canterbury had given him a deaconry. That his name was indeed John Poulter, the reputed ſon of one —— Poulter, a butcher in Saliſbury;

Saliſbury; and that he had long ſince been there branded for a fellow egregiouſly wicked and debauched, we were aſſured by the teſtimony of a young man then living in Amerſham, who both was his countryman, and had known him in Saliſbury; as well as by a letter from an inhabitant of that place, to whom his courſe of life had been well known.

His comrade, who for ſome time was only called the Informer, was named Ralph Lacy, of Riſborough, and ſirnamed the Cow-ſtealer.

Theſe agreed between themſelves where to make their firſt onſet, which was to be, and was, on the meeting of the people called Quakers, then holden at the houſe of William Ruſſell, called Jourdan's, in the pariſh of Giles Chalfont, in the county of Bucks; that which was wanting to their accommodation, was a place of harbour; for aſſiſtance wherein, recourſe was had to parſon Philips, none being ſo ready, none ſo willing, none ſo able to help them as he.

A friend he had in a corner, a widow woman, not long before one of his pariſhioners: her name was Anne Dell, and at that time ſhe lived at a farm called Whites, a bye-place, in the pariſh of Beaconsfield, whither ſhe removed from Hitchindon. To her theſe fellows were recommended by her old friend the parſon. She with all readineſs received them, her houſe was at all times open to them, what ſhe had, was at their command.

Two

Two ſons ſhe had at home with her, both at man's eſtate. The younger ſon, whoſe name was John Dell, liſted himſelf in the ſervice of his mother's new gueſts, to attend on them as their guide, and to inform them (who were too much ſtrangers to pretend to know the names of any of the perſons there) whom they ſhould inform againſt.

Thus conſorted, thus in a triple league confederated, on the 24th day of the fifth month, commonly called July, in the year 1670, they appeared openly, and began to act their intended tragedy upon the Quaker's meeting at the place aforeſaid, to which I belonged, and at which I was preſent. Here the chief actor, Poulter, behaved himſelf with ſuch impetuous violence and brutiſh rudeneſs, as gave occaſion for enquiry, who or what he was? And being ſoon diſcovered to be the Trepan, ſo infamous and abhorred by all ſober people, and afterwards daily detected of groſs impieties, and the felonious taking of certain goods from one of Brainford, whom alſo he cheated of money. Theſe things raiſing an out-cry in the country upon him, made him conſult his own ſafety, and leaving his part to be acted by others, quitted the country as ſoon as he could.

He being gone, Satan ſoon ſupplied his place, by ſending one Richard Aris, a broken ironmonger of Wycombe, to join with Lacy in this ſervice, prompted thereto, in hopes that he might thereby repair his broken fortune.

Of

Of this new adventurer this ſingle character may ſerve, whereby the reader may make judgment of him, as of the lion by his paw; that at the ſeſſions holden at Wycombe, in October then laſt paſt, he was openly accuſed of having enticed one Harding of the ſame town, to be his companion and aſſociate in robbing on the highway, and proof offered to be made, that he had made bullets in order to that ſervice; which charge Harding himſelf, whom he had endeavoured to draw into that heinous wickedneſs, was ready in court to prove upon oath, had not the proſecution been diſcountenanced and ſmothered.

Lacy, the cow-ſtealer, having thus got Aris, the intended highwayman, to be his comrade, they came on the 21ſt of the month called Auguſt, 1670, to the meeting of the people called Quakers, where Lacy, with Poulter, had been a month before; and taking for granted that the ſame who had been there before, were there then, they went to a juſtice of the peace, called Sir Thomas Clayton, and ſwore at all adventure againſt one Thomas Zachary, and his wife, whom Lacy underſtood to have been there the month before, that they were then preſent in that meeting: whereas neither the ſaid Thomas Zachary nor his wife were at that meeting, but were both of them at London (above twenty miles diſtant) all that day, having been there ſome time before and after. Which notwithſtanding, upon this falſe oath of theſe falſe men, the juſtice laid fines upon the ſaid Thomas Zachary of

10l. for his own offence, 10l. for his wife's, and 10l. for the offence of a pretended preacher, though indeed there was not any that preached at that meeting that day; and iſſued forth his warrant to the officers of Beaconsfield, where Thomas Zachary dwelt, for the levying of the ſame upon his goods.

I mention theſe things thus particularly, though not an immediate ſuffering of my own, becauſe, in the conſequence thereof, it occaſioned no ſmall trouble and exerciſe to me.

For when Thomas Zachary, returning home from London, underſtanding what had been done againſt him, and adviſing what to do, was informed by a neighbouring attorney, that his remedy lay in appealing from the judgment of the convicting juſtice, to the general quarter ſeſſions of the peace: he thereupon ordering the ſaid attorney to draw up his appeal in form of law, went himſelf with it, and tendered it to the juſtice. But the juſtice being a man neither well principled, nor well natured, and uneaſy that he ſhould loſe the advantage, both of the preſent conviction, and future ſervice of ſuch (in his judgment) uſeful men, as thoſe two bold informers were likely to be, fell ſharply upon Thomas Zachary, charging him that he ſuffered juſtly, and that his ſuffering was not on a religious account.

This rough and unjuſt dealing engaged the good man to enter into further diſcourſe with the juſtice, in defence of his own innocency. From which diſcourſe the

the inſidious juſtice, taking offence at ſome expreſſion of his, charged him with ſaying, 'The righteous are 'oppreſſed, and the wicked go unpuniſhed.' Which the juſtice interpreting to be a reflection on the government, and calling it an high miſdemeanour, required ſureties of the good man to anſwer it at the next quarter ſeſſions, and in the mean time to be bound to his good behaviour. But he, well knowing himſelf to be innocent of having broken any law, or done in this matter any evil, could not anſwer the juſtice's unjuſt demand, and therefore was ſent forthwith a priſoner to the county gaol.

By this ſeverity it was thought the juſtice deſigned not only to wreak his diſpleaſure on this good man, but to prevent the further proſecution of his appeal: whereby he ſhould at once both oppreſs the righteous, by the levying of the fines unduly impoſed upon him, and ſecure the informers from a conviction of wilful perjury, and the puniſhment due therefor, that ſo they might go on without controul, in the wicked work they were engaged in.

But ſo great wickedneſs was not to be ſuffered to go unpuniſhed, or at leaſt undiſcovered. Wherefore, although no way could be found at preſent to get the good man releaſed from his unjuſt impriſonment; yet that his reſtraint might not hinder the proſecution of his appeal, on which the detection of the informers villainy depended, conſideration being had thereof amongſt ſome friends, the management of the proſecution

cution was committed to my care, who was thought, with reſpect at leaſt to leiſure, and diſengagement from other buſineſs, moſt fit to attend it; and very willingly I undertook it.

Wherefore at the next general quarter ſeſſions of the peace, holden at High Wycombe in October following, I took care that four ſubſtantial witneſſes, citizens of unqueſtionable credit, ſhould come down from London, in a coach and four horſes, hired on purpoſe.

Theſe gave ſo punctual and full evidence, that Thomas Zachary and his wife were in London all that day, whereon the informers had ſworn them to have been at an unlawful meeting, at a place more than twenty miles diſtant from London, that notwithſtanding what endeavours were uſed to the contrary, the jury found them not guilty. Whereupon the money depoſited for the fines, at the entering of the appeal, ought to have been returned, and ſo was ten pounds of it; but the reſt of the money being in the hand of the clerk of the peace, whoſe name was Wells, could never be got out again.

Thomas Zachary himſelf was brought from Ayleſbury gaol to Wycombe, to receive his trial, and though no evil could be charged upon him, yet juſtice Clayton, who at firſt committed him, diſpleaſed to ſee the appeal proſecuted, and the conviction he had made ſet aſide, by importunity prevailed with the bench to remand

remand him to priſon again, there to lie until another ſeſſions.

While this was doing, I got an indictment drawn up againſt the informers Aris and Lacy, for wilful perjury, and cauſed it to be delivered to the grand jury; who found the bill. And although the court adjourned from the town-hall to the chamber at their inn, in favour as it was thought to the informers, on ſuppoſition we would not purſue them thither, yet thither they were purſued; and there being two counſels preſent from Windſor, the name of the one was Starky, and of the other, as I remember, Forſter; the former of which I had before retained upon the trial of the appeal, I now retained them both, and ſent them into court again, to proſecute the informers upon this indictment; which they did ſo ſmartly, that the informers being preſent, as not ſuſpecting any ſuch ſudden danger, were of neceſſity called to the bar, and arraigned; and having pleaded *Not Guilty*, were forced to enter a traverſe to avoid a preſent commitment: all the favour the court could ſhew them being to take them bail one for the other, though probably both not worth a groat, elſe they muſt have gone to gaol for want of bail, which would have put them beſides their buſineſs, ſpoiled the informing trade, and broke the deſign; whereas now they were turned looſe again, to do what miſchief they could until the next ſeſſions.

Accordingly they did what they could, and yet could make little or no earnings at it; for this little

ſtep

ſtep of proſecution had made them ſo known, and their late apparent perjury had made them ſo deteſtable, that even the common ſort of bad men ſhunned them, and would not willingly yield them any aſſiſtance.

The next quarter ſeſſions was holden at Ayleſbury, whither we were fain to bring down our witneſſes again from London, in like manner, and at like charge (at the leaſt) as before. And though I met with great diſcouragements in the proſecution, yet I followed it ſo vigorouſly, that I got a verdict againſt the informers for wilful perjury; and had forthwith taken them up, had not they forthwith fled from juſtice, and hid themſelves. However, I moved by my attorney for an order of court, directed to all mayors, bayliffs, high conſtables, petty conſtables, and other inferior officers of the peace, to arreſt and take them up, wherever they ſhould be found within the county of Bucks, and bring them to the county gaol.

The report of this ſo terrified them, that of all things dreading the miſery of lying in a gaol, out of which they could not hope for deliverance, otherwiſe than by at leaſt the loſs of their ears, they, hopeleſs now of carrying on their informing trade, disjoined, and one of them (Aris) fled the country; ſo that he appeared no more in this country. The other (Lacy) lurked privily for a while in woods and bye-places, 'till hunger and want forced him out; and then caſting himſelf upon an hazardous adven-

ture,

ture, which yet was the beſt, and proved to him beſt courſe he could have taken, he went directly to the gaol, where he knew the innocent man ſuffered impriſonment by his means, and for his ſake; where aſking for, and being brought to Thomas Zachary, he caſt himſelf on his knees, at his feet, and with appearance of ſorrow, confeſſing his fault, did ſo earneſtly beg for forgiveneſs, that he wrought upon the tender nature of that very good man, not only to put him in hopes of mercy, but to be his advocate by letter to me, to mitigate at leaſt, if not wholly to remit the proſecution. To which I ſo far only conſented, as to let him know, I would ſuſpend the execution of the warrant upon him, according as he behaved himſelf, or until he gave freſh provocation: at which meſſage the fellow was ſo over-joyed, that relying with confidence thereon, he returned openly to his family and labour, and applied himſelf to buſineſs, as his neighbours obſerved and reported, with greater diligence and induſtry than he had ever done before.

Thus began and thus ended the informing trade in theſe parts of the county of Bucks; the ill ſucceſs that theſe firſt informers found diſcouraging all others, how vile ſoever, from attempting the like enterprize there ever after. And though it coſt ſome money to carry on the proſecution, and ſome pains too, yet, for every ſhilling ſo ſpent, a pound probably might be ſaved, of what in all likelihood would have been loſt, by the

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ſpoil and havock that might have been made by diſtreſſes taken on their informations.

But ſo angry was the convicting juſtice (whatever others of the ſame rank were) at this proſecution, and the loſs thereby of the ſervice of thoſe honeſt men, the perjured informers. For as I heard an attorney (one Hitchcock, of Ayleſbury, who was their advocate in court) ſay, 'A great lord, a peer of the realm, 'called them ſo in a letter directed to him; whereby 'he recommended to him the care and defence of 'them and their cauſe;' that he prevailed to have the oath of allegiance tendered in court to Thomas Zachary, which he knew he would not take, becauſe he could not take any oath at all; by which ſnare he was kept in priſon a long time after, and, ſo far as I remember, until a general pardon releaſed him.

But though it pleaſed the divine Providence, which ſometimes vouchſafeth to bring good out of evil, to put a ſtop, in a great meaſure at leaſt, to the proſecution here begun; yet, in other parts, both of the city and country, it was carried on with very great ſeverity and rigour; the worſt of men, for the moſt part, being ſet up for informers: the worſt of magiſtrates encouraging and abetting them; and the worſt of the prieſts, who firſt began to blow the fire, now ſeeing how it took, ſpread and blazed, clapping their hands, and hallowing them on to this evil work.

The ſenſe whereof, as it deeply affected my heart with a ſympathizing pity for the oppreſſed ſufferers, ſo

it

it raiſed in my ſpirit an holy diſdain and contempt of that ſpirit and its agent, by which this ungodly work was ſtirred up and carried on. Which at length brake forth in an Expoſtulatory Poem, under the title of GIGANTOMACHIA, *(the Wars of the Giants againſt Heaven)* not without ſome alluſion to the ſecond Pſalm, thus:

WHY do the Heathen in a brutiſh rage,
Themſelves againſt the Lord of Hoſts engage!
Why do the frantick people entertain
Their thoughts upon a thing that is ſo vain!
Why do the kings themſelves together ſet!
And why do all the princes them abet!
Why do the rulers to each other ſpeak
After this fooliſh manner, 'Let us break
'Their bonds aſunder! come let us make haſte,
'With joint conſent, their cords from us to caſt.'
Why do they thus join hands! and counſel take
Againſt the Lord's Anointed! this will make
Him, doubtleſs laugh, who doth in Heaven ſit,
The Lord will have them in contempt for it.
His ſore diſpleaſure on them He will wreak,
And in His wrath will He unto them ſpeak.
For on His holy hill of Sion, He
His king hath ſet to reign, ſcepters muſt be
Caſt down before him; diadems muſt lie
At foot of Him who ſits in majeſty

Upon

Upon His Throne of Glory; whence He will
Send forth His fiery miniſters to kill
All thoſe His enemies, who would not be
Subject to His ſupreme authority.

Where then will ye appear, who are ſo far
From being ſubjects, that ye rebels are
Againſt His holy government, and ſtrive
Others from their allegiance too to drive;
What earthly prince ſuch an affront wou'd bear
From any of his ſubjects, ſhould they dare
So to encroach on his prerogative!
Which of them would permit that man to live;
What ſhould it be adjudg'd but treaſon! and
Death he muſt ſuffer for it out of hand.

And ſhall the King of kings ſuch treaſon ſee
Acted againſt Him, and the traitors be
Acquitted! No, vengeance is His; and they
That Him provoke, ſhall know he will repay.

And of a truth, provoked He hath been,
In an high manner by this daring ſin,
Of uſurpation, and of tyranny
Over mens conſciences, which ſhould be free
To ſerve the living God as He requires,
And as His Holy Spirit them inſpires.
For conſcience is an inward thing, and none
Can govern that aright but God alone.
Nor can a well-informed conſcience lower
Her ſails to any temporary power,

Or

Or bow to men's decrees; for that would be
Treaſon in a ſuperlative degree;
For God alone can laws to conſcience give,
And that's a badge of His PREROGATIVE.
This is the controverſy of this day,
Between the holy God, and ſinful clay.
God hath throughout the earth proclaim'd, that He
Will over conſcience hold the ſov'reingty,
That He the kingdom to Himſelf will take,
And in man's heart His reſidence will make;
From whence His ſubjects ſhall ſuch laws receive,
As pleaſe His Royal Majeſty to give.
Man heeds not this; but moſt audaciouſly
Says, 'Unto me belongs ſupremacy:
'And all men's conſciences within my land,
'Ought to be ſubject unto my command.'
God, by His Holy Spirit, doth direct
His people how to worſhip; and expect
Obedience from them. Man ſays, 'I ordain,
'That none ſhall worſhip in that way on pain
'Of priſon, confiſcation, baniſhment,
'Or being to the ſtake or gallows ſent.'
God out of Babylon doth people call,
Commands them to forſake her ways, and all
Her ſev'ral ſorts of worſhip, to deny
Her whole religion as idolatry.
Will man thus his uſurped pow'r forego,
And loſe his ill-got government? Oh no:

But out comes his enacted, be't, 'That all
'Who when the organs play, will not down fall
'Before this golden image, and adore
'What I have caus'd to be ſet up therefore,
'Into the fiery furnace ſhall be caſt,
'And be conſumed with a flaming blaſt.
'Or, in the mildeſt terms, conform or pay
'So much a month, or ſo much ev'ry day,
'Which we will levy on you, by diſtreſs,
'Sparing nor widow, nor the fatherleſs:
'And if you have not what will ſatisfy,
'Y'are like in priſon during life to lie.'
Chriſt ſays, Swear not; but man ſays, 'Swear, [or lie]
'In priſon, premunir'd, until you die.'
Man's ways are, in a word, as oppoſite
To God's, as midnight darkneſs is to light;
And yet fond man doth ſtrive with might and main
By penal laws, God's people to conſtrain
To worſhip what, when, where, how he thinks fit,
And to whatever he injoins, ſubmit.
What will the iſſue of this conteſt be!
Which muſt give place, the Lord's, or man's decree!
Will man be in the day of battle found
Able to keep the field, maintain his ground,
Againſt the mighty God! no more than can
The lighteſt chaff before the winnowing fan;
No more than ſtraw could ſtand before the flame,
Or ſmalleſt atoms, when a whirlwind came.

The LORD (who in creation, only ſaid,
'Let us make man,' and forthwith man was made)
Can in a moment by one blaſt of breath,
Strike all mankind with an eternal death.
How ſoon can God all man's devices quaſh,
And, with His iron rod, in pieces daſh
Him, like a potter's veſſel! none can ſtand
Againſt the mighty power of His hand.
Be therefore wiſe, ye kings, inſtructed be,
Ye rulers of the earth, and henceforth ſee
Ye ſerve the Lord in fear, and ſtand in awe
Of ſinning any more againſt His law,
His royal law of liberty; to do
To others as you'd have them do to you.
Oh ſtoop, ye mighty monarchs, and let none
Reject His government, but kiſs the Son,
While's wrath is but a little kindled, leſt
His anger burn, and you that have tranſgreſt
His law ſo oft, and would not Him obey,
Eternally ſhould periſh from the way;
The way of God's ſalvation, where the juſt
Are bleſs'd, who in the Lord do put their truſt.

Fœlix quem faciunt aliena Pericula cautum.

——————————— Happy's he,
Whom others harms do wary make to be.

As the unreaſonable rage and furious violence of the perſecutors had drawn the former expoſtulation from me, ſo in a while after, my heart being deeply affected with a ſenſe of the great loving-kindneſs and tender goodneſs of the LORD to his people, in bearing up their ſpirits in their greateſt exerciſes, and preſerving them through the ſharpeſt trials, in a faithful teſtimony to his bleſſed truth, and opening in due time a door of deliverance to them, I could not forbear to celebrate His praiſes in the following lines, under the title of

A SONG OF THE MERCIES AND DELIVERANCES OF THE LORD.

HAD not the LORD been on our ſide,
May Iſrael now ſay,
We were not able to abide
The trials of that day.
When men did up againſt us riſe,
With fury, rage, and ſpite,
Hoping to catch us by ſurpriſe,
Or run us down by might.
Then had not God for us aroſe,
And ſhewn His mighty pow'r,
We had been ſwallow'd by our foes,
Who waited to devour.

When

When the joint pow'rs of death and hell
Againſt us did combine,
And, with united forces fell
Upon us, with deſign
To root us out; then had not God
Appear'd to take our part,
And them chaſtized with His rod,
And made them feel the ſmart,
We then had overwhelmed been
And trodden in the mire,
Our enemies on us had ſeen
Their cruel hearts deſire.
When ſton'd, when ſtockt, when rudely ſtript,
Some to the waiſt have been.
(Without regard of ſex) and whipt,
Until the blood did ſpin;
Yea, when their ſkins with ſtripes look'd black,
Their fleſh to jelly beat,
Enough to make their ſinews crack,
The laſhes were ſo great;
Then had not God been with them to
Support them, they had dy'd,
His pow'r it was, that bore them thro',
Nothing cou'd do't beſide.
When into priſons we were throng'd
(Where peſtilence was rife)
By bloody-minded men, that long'd
To take away our life;

Then had not God been with us, we
Had periſh'd there no doubt,
'Twas He preſerv'd us there, and He
It was that brought us out.
When ſentenced to baniſhment
Inhumanly we were,
To be from native country ſent,
From all that men call dear;
Then had not God been pleas'd t' appear,
And take our cauſe in hand,
And ſtruck them with a pannick fear,
Which put them to a ſtand:
Nay, had He not great judgments ſent,
And compaſs'd them about,
They were, at that time fully bent
To root us wholly out.
Had He not gone with them that went,
The ſeas had been their graves,
Or, when they came where they were ſent,
They had been ſold for ſlaves.
But God was pleaſed ſtill to give
Them favour where they came,
And in His truth they yet do live,
To praiſe His Holy Name.
And now afreſh do men contrive
Another wicked way,
Of our eſtates us to deprive,
And take our goods away.

But

But will the Lord (who to this day,
Our part did always take)
Now leave us to be made a prey,
And that too for His ſake?
Can any one, who calls to mind
Deliverances paſt,
Diſcourag'd be at what's behind,
And murmur now at laſt!
O that no unbelieving heart
Among us may be found,
That from the Lord wou'd now depart,
And coward-like, give ground.
For, without doubt, the God we ſerve
Will ſtill our cauſe defend,
If we from Him do never ſwerve,
But truſt Him to the end.
What if our goods by violence,
From us be torn, and we,
Of all things but our innocence,
Should wholly ſtripped be?
Would this be more than did befal
Good Job? Nay ſure, much leſs;
He loſt eſtate, children and all,
Yet he the Lord did bleſs.
But did not God his ſtock augment,
Double what 'twas before?
And this was writ to the intent,
That we ſhould hope the more.

View but the lilies of the field,
That neither knit nor ſpin,
Who is it that to them doth yield
The robes they're decked in?
Doth not the Lord the ravens feed,
And for the ſparrows care?
And will not He for His own ſeed,
All needful things prepare?
The lions ſhall ſharp hunger bear,
And pine for lack of food,
But who the Lord do truly fear,
Shall nothing want that's good.
Oh! which of us can now diffide
That God will us defend,
Who hath been always on our ſide,
And will be to the end.

Spes confiſa Deo nunquam confuſa recedet.

Hope, which on God is firmly grounded,
Will never fail, nor be confounded.

Scarce was the before-mentioned ſtorm of outward perſecution from the government blown over, when Satan raiſed another ſtorm, of another kind, againſt us on this occaſion. The foregoing ſtorm of perſe-

cution,

cution, as it laſted long, ſo in many parts of the nation, and particularly at London, it fell very ſharp and violent, eſpecially on the Quakers. For they having no refuge but God alone to fly unto, could not dodge and ſhift to avoid the ſuffering, as others of other denominations could, and in their worldly wiſdom and policy did; altering their meetings, with reſpect both to place and time, and forbearing to meet when forbidden, or kept out of their meeting-houſes. So that of the ſeveral ſorts of Diſſenters, the Quakers only held up a publick teſtimony, as a ſtandard or enſign of religion, by keeping their meeting duly and fully, at the accuſtomed times and places, ſo long as they were ſuffered to enjoy the uſe of their meeting-houſes; and when they were ſhut up, and friends kept out of them by force, they aſſembled in the ſtreets, as near to their meeting-houſes as they could.

This bold and truly Chriſtian behaviour in the Quakers, diſturbed and not a little diſpleaſed the perſecutors, who, fretting, complained that the ſtubborn Quakers brake their ſtrength, and bore off the blow from thoſe other Diſſenters, whom as they moſt feared, ſo they principally aimed at. For indeed the Quakers they rather deſpiſed than feared, as being a people, from whoſe peaceable principles and practices, they held themſelves ſecure from danger; whereas having ſuffered ſeverely, and that lately too, by and under the other Diſſenters, they thought they

had juſt cauſe to be apprehenſive of danger from them, and good reaſon to ſuppreſs them.

On the other hand, the more ingenious amongſt other Diſſenters of each denomination, ſenſible of the eaſe they enjoyed by our bold and ſteady ſuffering, (which abated the heat of the perſecutors, and blunted the edge of the ſword before it came to them) frankly acknowledged the benefit received; calling us the bulwark, that kept off the force of the ſtroke from them; and praying that we might be preſerved, and enabled to break the ſtrength of the enemy; nor could ſome of them forbear, thoſe eſpecially who were called Baptiſts, to expreſs their kind and favourable opinion of us, and of the principles we profeſſed, which emboldened us to go through that, which but to hear of was a terror to them.

This their good-will raiſed ill-will in ſome of their teachers againſt us, who though willing to reap the advantage of a ſhelter, by a retreat behind us during the time that the ſtorm laſted; yet partly through an evil emulation, partly through fear, leſt they ſhould loſe ſome of thoſe members of their ſociety, who had diſcovered ſuch favourable thoughts of our principles and us, they ſet themſelves, as ſoon as the ſtorm was over, to repreſent us in as ugly a dreſs, and in as frightful figure to the world, as they could invent and put upon us.

In order whereunto, one Thomas Hicks, a preacher among the Baptiſts at London, took upon him to write

write ſeveral pamphlets ſucceſſively, under the title of 'A Dialogue between a Chriſtian and a Quaker;' which were ſo craftily contrived, that the unwary reader might conclude them to be not merely fictions, but real diſcourſes, actually held between one of the people called a Quaker, and ſome other perſon. In theſe feigned dialogues, Hicks, having no regard to juſtice or common honeſty, had made his counterfeit Quaker ſay whatſoever he thought would render him one while, ſufficiently erroneous; another while, ridiculous enough; forging in the Quaker's name, ſome things ſo abominably falſe, other things ſo intolerably fooliſh, as could not reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have come into the conceit, much leſs to have dropped from the lip or pen of any that went under the name of a Quaker.

Theſe dialogues (ſhall I call them, or rather diabologues) were anſwered by our friend William Penn in two books; the firſt being intitled Reaſon againſt Railing, the other the Counterfeit Chriſtian detected; in which Hicks being charged with manifeſt, as well as manifold forgeries, perverſions, downright lies and ſlanders againſt the people called Quakers in general, William Penn, George Whitehead, and divers others by name; complaint was made, by way of an appeal, to the Baptiſts in and about London, for juſtice againſt Thomas Hicks.

Thoſe Baptiſts, who it ſeems were in the plot with Hicks, to defame at any rate, right or wrong, the

people called Quakers, taking the advantage of the abſence of William Penn, and George Whitehead, who were the perſons moſt immediately concerned, and who were then gone a long journey on the ſervice of truth, to be abſent from the city, in all probability, for a conſiderable time, appointed a publick meeting in one of their meeting houſes, under pretence of calling Thomas Hicks to account, and hearing the charge made good againſt him; but with deſign to give the greater ſtroke to the Quakers, when they, who ſhould make good the charge againſt Hicks, could not be preſent. For upon their ſending notice to the lodgings of William Penn and George Whitehead of their intended meeting, they were told by ſeveral friends, that both William Penn and George Whitehead were from home, travelling in the countries uncertain where; and therefore could not be informed of their intended meeting, either by letter or expreſs, within the time by them limited; for which reaſon they were deſired to defer the meeting till they could have notice of it, and time to return, that they might be at it. But theſe Baptiſts, whoſe deſign was otherwiſe laid, would not be prevailed with to defer their meeting; but glad of the advantage, gave their brother Hicks opportunity to make a colourable defence, where he had his party to help him, and none to oppoſe him; and having made a mock ſhew of examining him and his works of darkneſs,

neſs, they in fine having heard one ſide, acquitted him.

This gave juſt occaſion for a new complaint, and demand of juſtice againſt him and them. For as ſoon as William Penn returned to London, he in print exhibited his complaint of this unfair dealing, and demanded juſtice, by a re-hearing of the matter in a publick meeting, to be appointed by joint agreement. This went hardly down with the Baptiſts, nor could it be obtained from them, without great importunity and hard preſſing. At length, after many delays and tricks uſed to ſhift it off, conſtrained by neceſſity, they yielded to have a meeting at their own meeting-houſe, in Barbican, London.

There, amongſt other friends, was I, and undertook to read our charge there againſt Thomas Hicks, which, not without much difficulty, I did; they, inaſmuch as the houſe was theirs, putting all the inconveniencies they could upon us.

The particular paſſages, and management of this meeting (as alſo of that other, which followed ſoon after, they refuſing to give us any other publick meeting, we were fain to appoint in our own meeting-houſe, by Wheeler-ſtreet, near Spitalfields, London, and gave them timely notice of) I forbear here to mention; there being in print a narrative of each, to which, for particular information, I refer the reader.

But

But to this meeting Thomas Hicks would not come, but lodged himſelf at an ale-houſe hard by; yet ſent his brother Ives, with ſome others of the party, by clamorous noiſes, to divert us from the proſecution of our charge againſt him; which they ſo effectually performed, that they would not ſuffer the charge to be heard, though often attempted to be read.

As this rude behaviour of theirs was a cauſe of grief to me, ſo afterwards when I underſtood that they uſed all evaſive tricks to avoid another meeting with us, and refuſed to do us right, my ſpirit was greatly ſtirred at their injuſtice, and in the ſenſe thereof, willing, if poſſible, to have provoked them to more fair and manly dealing, I let fly a broadſide at them, in a ſingle ſheet of paper, under the title of A Freſh Purſuit. In which, having re-ſtated the controverſy between them and us, and reinforced our charge of forgery, &c. againſt Thomas Hicks and his abettors, I offered a fair challenge to them (not only to Thomas Hicks himſelf, but to all thoſe his compurgators, who had before undertaken to acquit him from our charge, together with their companion Jeremy Ives) to give me a fair and publick meeting, in which I would make good our charge againſt him as principal, and all the reſt of them as acceſſaries. But nothing could provoke them to come fairly forth.

Yet

Yet not long after, finding themſelves galled by the narrative lately publiſhed of what had paſſed in the laſt meeting near Wheeler-ſtreet, they, to help themſelves, if they could, ſent forth a counter account of that meeting, and of the former at Barbican, as much to the advantage of their own cauſe, as they upon deliberate conſideration could contrive it. This was publiſhed by Thomas Plant, a Baptiſt teacher, and one of Thomas Hicks's former compurgators, and bore (but falſly) the title of A Conteſt for Chriſtianity, or a faithful Relation of two late Meetings, &c.

To this I quickly writ and publiſhed an anſwer. And becauſe I ſaw the deſign and whole drift of the Baptiſts was to ſhroud Thomas Hicks from our charge of forgery, under the ſpecious pretence of his and their ſtanding up, and contending for Chriſtianity, I gave my book this general title: Forgery no Chriſtianity, or a Brief Examen of a late Book, &c. And having from their own book plainly convicted that which they called a faithful relation, to be indeed a falſe relation, I, in an expoſtulatory poſtſcript to the Baptiſts, reinforced our charge and my former challenge, offering to make it good againſt them before a publick and free auditory. But they were too wary to appear further, either in perſon or in print.

This was the end of that controverſy, which was obſerved to have this iſſue: that what thoſe dialogues were written to prevent, was, by the dialogues, and their unfair, unmanly, unchriſtian carriage, in endeavouring

vouring to defend them, haſtened and brought to paſs; for not a few of the Baptiſts members, upon this occaſion left their meetings and ſociety, and came over to the Quaker's meetings, and were joined in fellowſhip with them. Thanks be to God.

The controverſy which had been raiſed by thoſe cavilling Baptiſts, had not been long ended before another was raiſed by an Epiſcopal prieſt in Lincolnſhire, who fearing, as it ſeemed, to loſe ſome of his hearers to the Quakers, wrote a book, which he miſcalled, 'A Friendly Conference between a Miniſter 'and a Pariſhioner of his inclining to Quakeriſm.' In which he miſ-ſtated and greatly perverted the Quakers principles, that he might thereby beget in his pariſhioners an averſion to them; and that he might abuſe us the more ſecurely, he concealed himſelf, ſending forth his book without a name.

This book coming to my hand, became my concern (after I had read it, and conſidered the evil management, and worſe deſign thereof) to anſwer it; which I did in a treatiſe called 'Truth Prevailing, and De-'tecting Error.' Publiſhed in the year 1676.

My anſwer I divided, according to the ſeveral ſubjects handled in the conference, into divers diſtinct chapters, the laſt of which treated of Tithes.

This being the prieſts *Delilah*, and that chapter of mine pinching them it ſeems in a tender part, the belly, they laid their heads together, and with what ſpeed they could, ſent forth a diſtinct reply to the laſt chapter

chapter of Tithes in mine, under the title of 'The 'Right of Tithes aſſerted and proved.' This alſo came forth without a name, yet pretended to be written by another hand.

Before I had finiſhed my rejoinder to this, came forth another, called 'A Vindication of the Friendly 'Conference;' ſaid to be written by the author of the feigned conference, who was not yet willing to truſt the world with his name. So much of it as related to the ſubject I was then upon, Tithes, I took into my rejoinder to the right of tithes, which I publiſhed in the year 1678, with this title, 'The Foun-'dation of Tithes Shaken,' &c.

After this it was a pretty while before I heard from either of them again. But at length came forth a reply to my laſt, ſuppoſed to be written by the ſame hand, who had before written 'The Right of Tithes 'Aſſerted,' &c. but ſtill without a name. This latter book had more of art than argument in it. It was indeed a haſh of ill-cooked crambe, ſet off with as much flouriſh as the author was maſter of, and ſwelled into bulk by many quotations; but thoſe ſo wretchedly miſgiven, miſapplied, or perverted, that to a judicious and impartial reader, I durſt oppoſe my Foundation of Tithes Shaken, to the utmoſt force that book has in it. Yet it coming forth at a time when I was pretty well at leiſure, I intended a full refutation thereof; and in order thereunto had written between forty and fifty ſheets; when other buſineſs more

more urgent, intervening, took me off, and detained me from it ſo long, that it was then judged out of ſeaſon, and ſo it was laid aſide.

Hitherto the war I had been engaged in, was in a ſort foreign with people of other religious perſuaſions, ſuch as were open and avowed enemies; but now another ſort of war aroſe, an inteſtine war, raiſed by ſome among ourſelves; ſuch as had once been of us, and yet retained the ſame profeſſion, and would have been thought to be of us ſtill; but having through ill-grounded jealouſies, let in diſcontents, and thereupon fallen into jangling, chiefly about church diſcipline, they at length brake forth into an open ſchiſm, headed by two northern men of name and note, John Wilkinſon and John Story. The latter of which, as being the moſt active and popular man, having gained a conſiderable intereſt in the weſt, carried the controverſy with him thither, and there ſpreading it, drew many, too many, to abet him therein.

Among thoſe, William Rogers, a merchant of Briſtol, was not the leaſt, nor leaſt accounted of, by himſelf and ſome others. He was a bold and an active man, moderately learned, but immoderately conceited of his own parts and abilities, which made him forward to engage, as thinking none would dare to take up the gauntlet he ſhould caſt down. This high opinion of himſelf, made him rather a troubleſome than formidable enemy.

That

That I may here ſtep over the various ſteps, by which he advanced to open hoſtility (as what I was not actually, or perſonally engaged in:) He in a while arrived to that height of folly and wickedneſs, that he wrote and publiſhed a large book in five parts, to which he maliciouſly gave for a title [The Chriſtian Quaker diſtinguiſhed from the Apoſtate and Innovator] thereby arrogating to himſelf, and thoſe who were of his party, the topping ſtile of Chriſtian Quaker; and no leſs impiouſly than uncharitably branding and rejecting all others (even the main body of friends) for apoſtates and innovators.

When this book came abroad, it was not a little (and he, for its ſake) cried up by his injudicious admirers, whoſe applauſe ſetting his head afloat, he came up to London at the time of the Yearly-meeting then following, and at the cloſe thereof, gave notice in writing to this effect, viz. 'That if any were 'diſſatisfied with his book, he was there ready to 'maintain and defend both it and himſelf againſt all 'comers.'

This daring challenge was neither dreaded nor ſlighted, but an anſwer forthwith returned in writing, ſigned by a few friends, amongſt whom I was one, to let him know, that as many were diſſatisfied with his book and him, he ſhould not fail (God willing) to be met by the ſixth hour next morning, at the meeting-place, at Devonſhire-houſe.

Accordingly

Accordingly we met, and continued the meeting till noon or after; in which time he, ſurrounded with thoſe of his own party, as might abet and aſſiſt him, was ſo fairly foiled and baſled, and ſo fully expoſed, that he was glad to quit the place, and early next morning the town alſo; leaving, in excuſe for his going ſo abruptly off, (and thereby refuſing us another meeting with him, which we had earneſtly provoked him to) this ſlight ſhift, 'That he had before given 'earneſt for his paſſage in the ſtage coach home, and 'was not willing to loſe it.'

I had before this gotten a ſight of his book, and procured one for my uſe on this occaſion, but I had not time to read it through: but a while after, Providence caſt another of them into my hands very unexpectedly; for our dear friend George Fox paſſing through this country among friends, and lying in his journey at my houſe, had one of them in his bags, which he had made ſome marginal notes upon. For that good man, like Julius Cæſar, willing to improve all parts of his time, did uſually, even in his travels, dictate to his amanuenſis what he would have committed to writing. I knew not that he had this book with him, for he had not ſaid any thing to me of it, till going in the morning into his chamber, while he was dreſſing himſelf, I found it lying on the table by him. And underſtanding that he was going but for a few weeks, to viſit friends in the meetings hereabouts, and the neighbouring parts of Oxford and Berkſhire,

Berkſhire, and ſo return through this county again, I made bold to aſk him if he would favour me ſo much as to leave it with me till his return, that I might have the opportunity of reading it through. He conſented, and as ſoon almoſt as he was gone, I ſet myſelf to read it over. But I had not gone far in it, ere, obſerving the many foul falſhoods, malicious ſlanders, groſs perverſions, and falſe doctrines, abounding in it, the ſenſe thereof inflamed my breaſt with a juſt and holy indignation againſt the work, and that deviliſh ſpirit in which it was brought forth: wherefore, finding my ſpirit raiſed, and my underſtanding divinely opened to refute it, I began the book again, and reading it with pen in hand, anſwered it paragraphically as I went. And ſo clear were the openings I received from the LORD therein, that by the time my friend came back, I had gone through the greateſt part of it, and was too far engaged in ſpirit, to think of giving over the work: wherefore, requeſting him to continue the book a little longer with me, I ſoon after finiſhed the anſwer, which, with friends approbation, was printed under the title of 'An Antidote 'againſt the Infection of William Rogers's Book, 'miſcalled, 'The Chriſtian Quaker, &c.' This was written in the year 1682. But no anſwer was given to it, (either by him or any other of his party, tho' many others were concerned therein, and ſome by name) ſo far as I have ever heard. Perhaps there might be an hand of Providence over-ruling them therein,

therein, to give me leiſure to attend ſome other ſervices, which ſoon after fell upon me.

For it being a ſtormy time, and perſecution waxing hot, upon the Conventicle-Act, through the buſy boldneſs of hungry informers, who for their own advantage, did not only themſelves hunt after religious and peaceable meetings, but drove on the officers, not only the more inferior and ſubordinate, but, in ſome places, even the juſtices alſo, for fear of penalties, to hunt with them, and for them: I found a preſſure upon my ſpirit to write a ſmall treatiſe, to inform ſuch officers how they might ſecure and defend themſelves from being ridden by thoſe malepert informers, and made their drudges.

This treatiſe I called, 'A Caution to Conſtables, 'and other inferior Officers, concerned in the Execu-'tion of the Conventicle-Act. With ſome Obſer-'vations thereupon, humbly offered by way of Advice 'to ſuch well-meaning and moderate Juſtices of the 'peace, as would not willingly ruin their peaceable 'Neighbours,' &c.

This was thought to have ſome good ſervice where it came, upon ſuch ſober and moderate officers, as well juſtices, as conſtables, &c. as acted rather by conſtraint than choice; by encouraging them to ſtand their ground, with more courage and reſolution, againſt the inſults of ſaucy informers.

But whatever eaſe it brought to others, it brought me ſome trouble, and had like to have brought me into

into more danger, had not Providence wrought my deliverance by an unexpected way.

For as ſoon as it came forth in print, which was in the year 1683, one William Ayrs, of Watford in Hertfordſhire, a friend and an acquaintance of mine, (who was both an apothecary and barber) being acquainted with divers of the gentry in thoſe parts, and going often to ſome of their houſes to trim them, took one of theſe books with him, when he went to trim Sir Benjamin Titchborn, of Rickmanſworth, and preſented it to him, ſuppoſing he would have taken it kindly, as in like caſes he had formerly done. But it fell out otherwiſe. For he looking it over after Ayrs was gone, and taking it by the wrong handle, entertained an evil opinion of it, and of me for it, though he knew me not.

He thereupon communicated both the book and his thoughts upon it to a neighbouring juſtice, living in Rickmanſworth, whoſe name was Thomas Fotherly; who concurring with him in judgment, they concluded that I ſhould be taken up and proſecuted for it, as a ſeditious book: for a libel they could not call it, my name being to it at length.

Wherefore ſending for Ayrs, who had brought the book, juſtice Titchborn examined him if he knew me, and where I dwelt. Who telling him he knew me well, and had been often at my houſe, he gave him in charge to give me notice, that I ſhould appear before him and the other juſtice at Rickmanſworth, on ſuch

ſuch a day; threatening, that if I did not appear, he himſelf ſhould be proſecuted for ſpreading the book.

This put William Ayrs in a fright. Over he came in haſte with this meſſage to me, troubled that he ſhould be a means to bring me into trouble. But I endeavoured to give him eaſe, by aſſuring him I would not fail (with God's leave) to appear at the time and place appointed, and thereby free him from trouble or danger.

In the interim I received advice, by an expreſs out of Suſſex, that Guli Penn, with whom I had had an intimate acquaintance, and firm friendſhip from our very youths, was very dangerouſly ill, her huſband being then abſent in Pennſylvania, and that ſhe had a great deſire to ſee and ſpeak with me.

This put me to a great ſtraight, and brought a ſore exerciſe on my mind. I was divided betwixt honour and friendſhip. I had engaged my word to appear before the juſtices; which to omit would bring diſhonour on me and my profeſſion. To ſtay till that time was come and paſt, might probably prove (if I ſhould then be left at liberty) too late to anſwer her deſire, and ſatisfy friendſhip.

After ſome little deliberation, I reſolved, as the beſt expedient to anſwer both ends, to go over next morning to the juſtices, and lay my ſtraight before them, and try if I could procure from them a reſpite of my appearance before them, until I had been in Eſſex, and paid the duty of friendſhip to my ſick friend.

friend: which I had the more hopes to obtain, becauſe I knew thoſe juſtices had a great reſpect for Guli: for when William Penn and ſhe were firſt married, they lived for ſome years at Rickmanſworth, in which time they contracted a neighbourly friendſhip with both theſe juſtices and theirs, who ever after retained a kind regard for them both.

Early therefore in the morning I rode over. But being wholly a ſtranger to the juſtices, I went firſt to Watford, that I might take Ayrs along with me, who ſuppoſed himſelf to have ſome intereſt in juſtice Titchborn; and when I came there, underſtanding that another friend of that town, whoſe name was John Wells, was well acquainted with the other juſtice Fotherly; having imparted to them the occaſion of my coming, I took them both with me, and haſted back to Rickmanſworth. Where having put our horſes up at an inn, and leaving William Ayrs (who was a ſtranger to Fotherly) there, I went with John Wells to Fotherly's houſe; and being brought into a fair hall, I tarried there while Wells went into the parlour to him, and having acquainted him that I was there, and deſired to ſpeak with him, brought him to me with ſeverity in his countenance.

After he had aſked me (in a tone which ſpake diſpleaſure) what I had to ſay to him, I told him I came to wait on him upon an intimation given me, that he had ſomething to ſay to me: he thereupon plucking my book out of his pocket, aſked me if I owned

myſelf to be the author of that book: I told him if he pleaſed to let me look into it, if it were mine, I would not deny it. He thereupon giving it into my hand, when I had turned over the leaves, and looked it through, finding it to be as it came from the preſs, I told him I wrote the book, and would own it, all but the errors of the preſs. Whereupon he, looking ſternly on me, anſwered, 'Your own errors you 'ſhould have ſaid.'

Having innocency on my ſide, I was not at all daunted at either his ſpeech or looks; but feeling the LORD preſent with me, I replied, 'I know there are 'errors of the preſs in it, and therefore I excepted 'them; but I do not know there are any errors 'of mine in it, and therefore cannot except them. 'But, (added I,) if thou pleaſeſt to ſhew me any 'error of mine in it, I ſhall readily both acknowledge 'and retract it:' and thereupon I deſired him to give me an inſtance, in any one paſſage in that book, wherein he thought I had erred. He ſaid he needed not go to particulars; but charge me with the general contents of the whole book. I replied that ſuch a charge would be too general for me to give a particular anſwer to; but if he would aſſign me any particular paſſage, or ſentence in the book, wherein he apprehended the ground of offence to lie; when I ſhould have opened the terms, and explained my meaning therein, he might perhaps find cauſe to change his mind, and entertain a better opinion both of the book

and

and me. And therefore I again intreated him to let me know what particular paſſage or paſſages had given him an offence. He told me I needed not to be in ſo much haſte for that; I might have it timely enough, if not too ſoon: but this, ſaid he, is not the day appointed for your hearing, and therefore, added he, what, I pray, made you in ſuch haſte to come now? I told him I hoped he would not take it for an argument of guilt, that I came before I was ſent for, and offered myſelf to my purgation before the time appointed. And this I ſpake with ſomewhat a briſker air, which had ſo much influence on him, as to bring a ſomewhat ſofter air over his countenance.

Then going on, I told him I had a particular occaſion which induced me to come now, which was: that I received advice laſt night, by an expreſs out of Suſſex, that William Penn's wife (with whom I had had an intimate acquaintance and ſtrict friendſhip, *ab ipſis fere incunabilis*,* at leaſt, *a teneris unguiculis*,†) lay now there very ill, not without great danger, in the apprehenſion of thoſe about her, of her life; and that ſhe had expreſſed her deſire that I would come to her, as ſoon as I could; the rather, for that her huſband was abſent in America. That this had brought a great ſtraight upon me, being divided between friendſhip and duty, willing to viſit my friend in her illneſs, which the nature and law of friendſhip required; yet unwilling to omit my duty, by failing of my appear-

* Almoſt from our cradle. † From our tender age.

ance before him and the other juſtice, according to their command and my promiſe, leſt I ſhould thereby ſubject, not my own reputation only, but the reputation of my religious profeſſion, to the ſuſpicion of guilt, and cenſure of willingly ſhunning a trial. To prevent which, I had choſen to anticipate the time, and come now, to ſee if I could give them ſatisfaction, in what they had to object againſt me, and thereupon being diſmiſſed, purſue my journey into Suſſex; or if by them detained, to ſubmit to Providence, and by an expreſs to acquaint my friend therewith, both to free her from an expectation of my coming, and myſelf from any imputation of neglect.

While I thus delivered myſelf, I obſerved a ſenſible alteration in the juſtice; and when I had done ſpeaking, he firſt ſaid he was very ſorry for Madam Penn's illneſs, of whoſe virtue and worth he ſpake very highly, yet not more than was her due: then he told me, that for her ſake, he would do what he could to further my viſit to her; 'but, (ſaid he) I am but one, and of 'myſelf can do nothing in it; therefore you muſt go 'to Sir Benjamin Tichborn, and, if he be at home, 'ſee if you can prevail with him to meet me, that 'we may conſider of it.'

'But I can aſſure you, (added he) the matter which 'will be laid to your charge concerning your book, 'is of greater importance than you ſeem to think it. 'For your book has been laid before the King and 'Council; and the Earl of Bridgewater, who is one

'of

'of the council, hath thereupon given us command 'to examine you about it, and ſecure you.'

'I wiſh, (ſaid I) I could ſpeak with the Earl myſelf, 'for I make no doubt but to acquit myſelf unto him: 'and (added I) if thou pleaſeſt to give me thy letter 'to him, I will wait upon him with it forthwith. 'For although I know, (continued I) that he hath 'no favour for any of my perſuaſion, yet knowing 'myſelf to be wholly innocent in this matter, I can 'with confidence appear before him, or even before 'the King in council.'

'Well, (ſaid he) I ſee you are confident; but for 'all that, let me tell you, how good ſoever your in- 'tention was, you timed the publiſhing of your book 'very unluckily; for you cannot be ignorant, that 'there is a very dangerous plot lately diſcovered, con- 'trived by the Diſſenters, againſt the government and 'his Majeſty's life.' [This was the Rye-plot, then newly broke forth, and laid upon the Preſbyterians.] 'And for you, (added he) to publiſh a book, juſt at 'that juncture of time, to diſcourage the magiſtrates 'and other officers from putting in execution thoſe 'laws which were made to ſuppreſs their meetings, 'looks, I muſt tell you, but with a ſcurvy counte- 'nance upon you.'

'If, (replied I, with ſomewhat a pleaſanter air) 'there was any miſ-timing in the caſe, it muſt lie on 'the part of thoſe plotters, for timing the breaking 'forth of their plot while my book was a printing;

'for I can bring very good proof, that my book was 'in the preſs, and well-nigh wrought off, before any 'man talked or knew of a plot, but thoſe who were 'in it.'

Here our diſcourſe ended, and I taking, for the preſent, my leave of him, went to my horſe, and changing my companion, rode to juſtice Tichborn's, having with me William Ayrs, who was beſt acquainted with him, and who had caſually brought this trouble on me.

When he had introduced me to Tichborn, I gave him a like account of the occaſion of my coming at that time, as I had before given to the other juſtice. And both he, and his lady, who was preſent, expreſſed much concern for Guli Penn's illneſs.

I found this man to be of quite another temper than juſtice Fotherly; for this man was ſmooth, ſoft, and oily, whereas the other was rather rough, ſevere, and ſharp. Yet, at the winding up, I found Fotherly my trueſt friend.

When I had told Sir Benjamin Tichborn that I came from juſtice Fotherly, and requeſted him to give him a meeting, to conſider of my buſineſs, he readily, without any heſitation, told me he would go with me to Rickmanſworth, (from which his houſe was diſtant about a mile) and calling for his horſes, mounted immediately, and to Rickmanſworth we rode.

After they had been a little while together, I was called in before them; and in the firſt place they examined

examined me, 'What was my intention and deſign 'in writing that book?' I told them the introductory part of it gave a plain account of it, viz. 'That it 'was to get eaſe from the penalties of a ſevere law, 'often executed with too great a ſeverity by unſkilful 'officers, who were driven on beyond the bounds of 'their duty, by the impetuous threats of a ſort of 'inſolent fellows, (as needy as greedy) who, for their 'own advantage, ſought our ruin.' To prevent which, was the deſign and drift of that book, by acquainting ſuch officers how they might ſafely demean themſelves, in the execution of their offices, towards their honeſt and peaceable neighbours, without ruining either their neighbours or themſelves, to enrich ſome of the worſt of men. And that I humbly conceived, it was neither unlawful nor unreaſonable for a ſufferer to do this, ſo long as it was done in a fair, ſober, and peaceable way.

They then put me in mind of the plot; told me it was a troubleſome and dangerous time, and my book might be conſtrued to import ſedition, in diſcouraging the officers from putting the laws in execution, as by law and by their oath they were bound. And in fine brought it to this iſſue, that they were directed to ſecure me, by a commitment to priſon until the aſſize, at which I ſhould receive a further charge than they were provided now to give me; but becauſe they were deſirous to forward my viſit to Madam Penn, they told me they would admit me to bail, and there-

fore if I would enter a recognizance, with ſufficient ſureties, for my appearance at the next aſſize, they would leave me at liberty to go on my journey.

I told them I could not do it. They ſaid, they would give me as little trouble as they could, and therefore they would not put me to ſeek bail; but would accept thoſe two friends of mine, who were then preſent, to be bound with me for my appearance.

I let them know, my ſtraight lay not in the difficulty of procuring ſureties, for I did ſuppoſe myſelf to have ſufficient acquaintance, and credit in that place, if on ſuch an occaſion I could be free to uſe it; but, as I knew myſelf to be an innocent man, I had not ſatisfaction in myſelf, to deſire others to be bound for me, nor to enter myſelf into a recognizance; that carrying in it, to my apprehenſion, a reflection on my innocency, and the reputation of my Chriſtian profeſſion.

Here we ſtuck and ſtruggled about this a pretty while, till at length finding me fixed in my judgment, and reſolved rather to go to priſon than give bail, they aſked me if I was againſt appearing, or only againſt being bound with ſureties to appear. I told them I was not againſt appearing; which as I could not avoid, if I would, ſo I would not if I might; but was ready and willing to appear, if required, to anſwer whatſoever ſhould be charged againſt me. But in any caſe of a religious nature, or wherein my Chriſtian profeſſion was concerned, which I took this caſe

caſe to be, I could not yield to give any other or further ſecurity than my word, or promiſe, as a Chriſtian.

They, unwilling to commit me, took hold of that, and aſked if I would promiſe to appear. I anſwered 'Yes; with due limitations.' 'What do you mean 'by due limitations,' (ſaid they). 'I mean, (replied 'I) if I am not diſabled, or prevented by ſickneſs or 'impriſonment. For, (added I) as you alledge that 'it is a troubleſome time, I perhaps may find it 'ſo. I may, for ought I know, be ſeized and im-'priſoned elſewhere, on the ſame account for which 'I now ſtand here before you, and if I ſhould, how 'then could I appear at the aſſize in this county?' 'Oh, (ſaid they) theſe are due limitations indeed! 'ſickneſs or impriſonment are lawful excuſes, and if 'either of theſe befal you, we ſhall not expect your 'appearance here; but then you muſt certify us, that 'you are ſo diſabled by ſickneſs or reſtraint.'

'But, (ſaid I) how ſhall I know when and where 'I ſhall wait upon you again after my return from 'Suſſex?' 'You need not, (ſaid they) trouble 'yourſelf about that; we will take care to give you 'notice of both time and place, and till you hear 'from us, you may diſpoſe yourſelf as you pleaſe.'

'Well then, (ſaid I) I do promiſe you, that when 'I ſhall have received from you a freſh command to 'appear before you, I will (if the LORD permit me

'life, health, and liberty) appear when and where 'you ſhall appoint.'

'It is enough, (ſaid they) we will take your word:' and, deſiring me to give their hearty reſpects and ſervice to Madam Penn, they diſmiſſed me with their good wiſhes for a good journey.

I was ſenſible, that in this they had dealt very favourably and kindly with me, therefore I could not but acknowledge to them the ſenſe I had thereof. Which done, I took leave of them, and mounting, returned home with what haſte I could, to let my wife know how I had ſped. And having given her a ſummary account of the buſineſs, I took horſe again, and went ſo far that evening towards Worminghurſt, that I got thither pretty early next morning, and, to my great ſatisfaction, found my friend in an hopeful way towards a recovery.

I ſtaid ſome days with her; and then finding her illneſs wear daily off, and ſome other friends being come from London to viſit her, I (mindful of my engagement to the juſtices, and unwilling, by too long an abſence, to give them occaſion to ſuſpect I was willing to avoid their ſummons) leaving thoſe other friends to bear her company longer, took my leave of her and them, and ſet my face homewards, carrying with me the welcome account of my friend's recovery.

Being returned home, I waited in daily expectation of a command from the juſtices to appear again before them;

them; but none came. I ſpake with thoſe friends who had been with me when I was before them, and they ſaid they had heard nothing of it from them, although they had ſince been in company with them. At length the aſſize came; but no notice was given to me, that I ſhould appear there: in fine, they never troubled themſelves nor me any further about it.

Thus was a cloud, that looked black and threatened a great ſtorm, blown gently over by a providential breath, which I could not but, with a thankful mind, acknowledge to the All-great, All-good, All-wiſe Diſpoſer, in whoſe hand, and at whoſe command, the hearts of all men, even the greateſt, are, and who turns their counſels, diſappoints their purpoſes, and defeats their deſigns and contrivances, as He pleaſes. For if my dear friend Guli Penn had not fallen ſick, if I had not thereupon been ſent for to her, I had not prevented the time of my appearance, but had appeared on the day appointed: and, as I afterwards underſtood, that was the day appointed for the appearance of a great many perſons, of the diſſenting party in that ſide of the county, who were to be taken up and ſecured, on the account of the aforementioned plot, which had been caſt upon the Preſbyterians. So that if I had then appeared, with and amongſt them, I had, in all likelihood, been ſent to gaol with them for company, and that under the imputation of a plotter; than which, nothing was more contrary to my profeſſion and inclination.

But though I came off ſo eaſy, it fared not ſo well with others; for the ſtorm increaſing, many friends in divers parts, both of city and country, ſuffered greatly; the ſenſe whereof did deeply affect me, and the more, for that I obſerved the magiſtrates, not thinking the laws, which had been made againſt us ſevere enough, perverted the law in order to puniſh us. For calling our peaceable meetings riots (which in the legal notion of the word [riot] is a contradiction in terms) they indicted our friends as rioters for only ſitting in a meeting, though nothing was there either ſaid or done by them, and then ſet fines on them at pleaſure.

This I knew to be not only againſt right and juſtice, but even againſt law; and it troubled me to think that we ſhould be made to ſuffer not only by laws made directly againſt us, but even by laws that did not at all concern us. Nor was it long before I had occaſion offered more thoroughly to conſider this matter.

For a juſtice of the peace in this county, who was called Sir Dennis Hampſon, of Taplow, breaking in with a party of horſe upon a little meeting near Wooburn, in his neighbourhood, the 1ſt of the fifth month, 1683, ſent moſt of the men, to the number of twenty-three, whom he found there, to Ayleſbury priſon, though moſt of them were poor men who lived by their labour; and not going himſelf to the next Quarter-ſeſſions at Buckingham, on the 12th of the

the ſame month, ſent his clerk with direction, that they ſhould be indicted for a riot. Whither the priſoners were carried, and indicted accordingly, and being preſſed by the court to traverſe and give bail, they moved to be tried forthwith, but that was denied them. And they, giving in writing the reaſon of their refuſing bail and fees, were remanded to priſon till next Quarter-ſeſſions; but William Woodhouſe was again bailed, (as he had been before) and Wm. Maſon and John Reeve, who not being friends, but caſually taken at that meeting, entered recognizance as the court deſired, and ſo were releaſed till next ſeſſions. Before which time Maſon died, and Reeve being ſick, appeared not, but got himſelf taken off. And in the eighth month following, the twenty-one priſoners that remained, were brought to trial, a jury was found, who brought in a pretended verdict, that they were *Guilty of a Riot*, for only ſitting peaceably together, without word or action; and though there was no proclamation made, nor they required to depart. But one of the jurymen afterwards did confeſs he knew not what a riot was; yet the priſoners were fined a noble a-piece, and re-committed to priſon during life, (a hard ſentence) or the King's pleaſure, or until they ſhould pay the ſaid fines. William Woodhouſe was forthwith diſcharged, by his kinſman's paying the fine and fees for him. Thomas Dell and Edward Moore alſo, by other people of the world paying their fines and fees for them; and

and ſhortly after Stephen Pewſey, by the town and pariſh where he lived, for fear his wife and children ſhould become a charge upon them. The other ſeventeen remained priſoners till King James's proclamation of pardon; whoſe names were Thomas and William Sexton, Timothy Child, Robert Moor, Richard James, William and Robert Aldridge, John Ellis, George Salter, John Smith, William Tanner, William Batchelor, John Dolbin, Andrew Brothers, Richard Baldwin, John Jennings, and Robert Auſtin.

A SUPPLEMENT.

A

SUPPLEMENT:

BEING A

Continuation of the History

OF THE LIFE OF

THOMAS ELLWOOD;

GIVING ACCOUNT IN PARTICULAR

OF HIS BOOKS AND WRITINGS.

LONDON:

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M.DCC.XC.

A

SUPPLEMENT, &c.

OUR dear friend THOMAS ELLWOOD, for whom we cannot but have an honourable eſteem for his ſervice in the Church, having written an hiſtorical account of part of his life, well worth the knowledge of poſterity, ſo far as it goes, viz. to the year 1683, and there left off. Whether he writ any further, or whether ever he deſigned it, or for what reaſon he did not proceed, is uncertain; but ſo it is, that no more of it can be found at preſent, which is to be lamented, he being a man ſo eminent many ways, that any part of it ſhould be loſt. In conſideration whereof, it aroſe in my heart to write ſomething in order to ſupply the deficiency thereof, many things occurring to my mind, which it is pity ſhould be omitted. Therefore for the reſpect I bore him, and owe to his memory, being acquainted with him for more than the laſt twenty years of his life, I ſhall endeavour to make up that defect as far as I am capable of; though far ſhort of what himſelf might have

have done, by giving an account of ſome of the moſt material paſſages of the remaining part of his life, and ſuch memorials of him and his works, as came to my hands; which I ſhall ſet down with as much brevity and plainneſs as I can, in ſincerity to him, and the truth he profeſſed and adorned. Particularly of his labours, writings, ſufferings, and end, from the time he left off.

But firſt I muſt look back a little, to give ſome additional account of ſome paſſages in relation to his anſwers to the prieſts about tithes, for the reader's information and ſatisfaction, which every body may not know, to prevent miſapprehenſions in the caſe.

In the year 1676 he anſwered a nameleſs book, miſcalled A Friendly Conference between a Miniſter, and a Pariſhioner of his inclining to Quakeriſm, in a book intitled 'Truth prevailing and detecting Error,' which he divided into nine chapters, according to the various ſubjects treated of, (wherein that nameleſs author had endeavoured to miſrepreſent us) the laſt of which was of tithes. 'This (to uſe his own words) 'pinching the prieſts in a tender part, the belly, (as 'Eraſmus wittily ſaid Luther did the Monks) made 'them beſtir themſelves, and lay their heads together, 'to conſider what was to be done.' After divers debates, and much conſultation (as he was informed) about it, it was at laſt reſolved to anſwer that firſt, which though the laſt chapter in his book, yet having the firſt and chiefeſt place in the prieſts minds and affections,

affections, the prieſts Delilah; the very darling and minion of the clergy, (ſays T. Ellwood) the oil by which their lamp is nouriſhed; the pay * by which their army is maintained, (as the prieſt confeſſes) and to take away tithes, would be to ſtop the oil that nouriſhes the lamp, and force them to diſband for want of pay. This being, I ſay, their chiefeſt concern, and lying neareſt at heart, obtained from them the firſt and chiefeſt defence; which at length came forth by a nameleſs author alſo, in a book intitled, 'The Right of Tithes aſſerted and proved.' To which T. Ellwood replied in 1678, in a large book, intitled, 'The Foundation of Tithes ſhaken, and the 'four principal poſts (of divine inſtitution, primitive 'practice, voluntary donation, and poſitive laws) on 'which the nameleſs author of the ſaid book had ſet 'his pretended Right to Tithes, removed.' Tracing them all along from the Patriarchs to the time of the law; ſhewing the deſign and uſe of them under it, and how they were aboliſhed by the coming and ſuffering of Chriſt in the fleſh; and how they came to be ſet up again in the declenſion of the church, by Popiſh kings and councils, in the night of apoſtacy, for ſuperſtitious and idolatrous ends and uſes, contrary to the goſpel diſpenſation, and conſequently not obligatory on Chriſtians, by any divine right, to pay in this goſpel day; anſwering all the objections and pre-

* Introduction, page 3. Right of Tithes, page 13.

tences,

tences, which were brought by that author for them, from the four fore-mentioned topicks.

To this book of T. Ellwood's there was a pretended anſwer put forth two years after, ſuppoſed by the author of the former, but nameleſs ſtill; the author not daring to own his work with his name, (though ſince called Comber's) intitled, 'The Right 'of Tithes re-aſſerted;' wherein the proofs from the four former points are ſaid to be further ſtrengthened and vindicated, eſpecially from the objections taken out of Mr. Selden's Hiſtory of Tithes. As if it was chiefly deſigned againſt John Selden; T. Ellwood's name, or book, not being ſo much as mentioned in the title-page, though often in the book; as if it was however deſigned as an anſwer to him: which therefore T. Ellwood (though not intitled to it) took in hand to rejoin to, and had begun and made ſome conſiderable progreſs in it; but before he had gone through, or finiſhed it, ſome other occaſions falling in his way, (of which hereafter) it was laid by and never finiſhed; though he had writ, as he told me, near ſixty ſheets (though I find but forty-ſix among his papers; but theſe, with his notes and quotations will make near ſixty) for he had collected a vaſt number of materials out of authors, in order thereto, as appears by his papers, which I have ſince ſeen. For thus it was: that ſome of the prieſts party, vaunting that this ſecond book of the prieſts was not anſwered, I took occaſion once at London,

in

in the year 1692, to ſpeak to him about it, and he told me that the ſubſtance of the prieſts arguments, in this ſecond book, were anſwered in his former, [The Foundation of Tithes ſhaken] only ſome new quotations which he had brought; and that was what he chiefly deſigned to deal with the prieſt about, to examine and clear, by adding ſome new ones alſo; but that he never expected to have the laſt word with the prieſts about tithes, which their intereſt lay ſo much in, that they would never be ſatisfied; but always be cavilling about ſome way or other, how little ſoever it was to the purpoſe; and ſome other ſervices taking him off, (as aforeſaid) he laid it by. Which I mention to ſatisfy any who may queſtion in their minds why it was never anſwered, or at leaſt gone through. And this is the reaſon why I reſumed this matter.

'In handling the argument of Tithes, (ſays he, in a paper found among his manuſcripts, as an introduction to his ſaid intended anſwer) 'I write with 'this diſadvantage, that I encounter a numerous party 'and order of men, with whom intereſt is far more 'prevalent than truth; whoſe profit will not permit 'them to yield to reaſon; whoſe advantage will not 'ſuffer them to acknowledge the plaineſt demonſtra-'tion; their gain as apparently lying in that which 'I oppoſe, as Demetrius's, and his fellow-craftſmen 'the ſilverſmiths of Epheſus, did in that which the 'apoſtle preached againſt, Acts xix. 25, 26. Hence 'is it that they bend all their ſtrength, and employ

'their

'their utmoſt force to maintain this point, by which 'they are maintained; and like thoſe ſhrine-makers 'of old, they endeavour to carry it by noiſe and 'clamour, inſtead of truth and reaſon. Nor do they 'regard what they ſay, how falſe ſoever; or whom 'they beſpatter, how undeſervedly ſoever, in order to 'the upholding their adored Diana, and enjoying their 'moſt beloved, Delilah, TITHES. My preſent 'adverſary is not aſhamed to ſay, (page 1. 2,) That 'I and my fellow quaking ſpeakers, (as he reproach-'fully calls us) have our gain by railing againſt 'Tithes. A charge ſo apparently and ridiculouſly 'falſe, that it needs no more than its own malice and 'folly to detect it. With equal reaſon might Deme-'trius have charged St. Paul, that he and his brethren 'had their gain, by impugning the idolatrous worſhip 'of Diana.

'Sacriledge and idolatry, the prieſts ſay, are ſins 'near of kin; but covetouſneſs and the clergy are 'perhaps nearer. The great outcry againſt ſacriledge 'is made for the moſt part by idolaters and falſe mi-'niſters, who, as they are moſt greedy and crafty to 'get, ſo are they moſt ſolicitous and careful to keep, 'moſt enraged and clamorous when they come to loſe 'their unjuſtly acquired gains. Thus was it with 'the Popiſh clergy, after they had gulled the people, 'by a religious cheat, of a great part of their ſub-'ſtance, they laboured to terrify them by the name of 'Sacriledge, from attempting to recover that which

'had

'had been ſo fraudulently gotten from them; and 'doubtleſs the Engliſh clergy, as they derive [in chief 'part] the maintenance they poſſeſs from their pre-'deceſſors the Popiſh clergy, from whom they re-'ceived their prieſthood, have therewith alſo taken up 'from them their old cry of Sacriledge, with which, as 'a bugbear, they would ſcare all from attempting to 'diſcover the cheat. But the legal alienation of a 'great part of thoſe ſurreptitious acquiſitions of the 'clergy, begun in HENRY the VIIIth's time, 'carried on in EDWARD the VIth's, and compleated 'in QUEEN ELIZABETH's, (of theſe three, the two 'laſt were Proteſtant princes) hath abated the edge 'of that clerical weapon, and ſatisfied the diſ-inte-'tereſted part of the nation, that the word [Sacriledge] 'in this caſe, is but like a ſcare-crow, eſpecially when 'uſed by the prieſts for their own profit, as moſt com-'monly it is; for though they pretend the mainte-'nance of God's worſhip, yet it is their own main-'tenance they intend. And herein Demetrius and 'they moſt patly agree; for he alſo urged (as the moſt 'ſpecious pretence, and which was moſt likely to 'impreſs the people) the danger leſt, by Paul's 'preaching, the temple of the great goddeſs Diana, 'ſhould be deſpiſed, and her magnificence deſtroyed, 'Acts xix. 27. Whereas the great inducement to 'him for ſtirring, was the danger leſt his craft ſhould 'be ſet at nought, and he ſhould thereby loſe the 'gains he made by Diana's temple, verſe 25, 27. Do

'the

'the prieſts now cry out againſt ſacriledge? So 'did Demetrius and his craftſmen then. Did they 'cloak their private intereſt with a ſeeming regard 'and care for the temple and magnificence of their 'goddeſs Diana? So do the prieſts theirs now, with 'a pretence of zeal for the worſhip of God. Did 'they in their fury take no notice of the magiſtrates 'nor laws of their country? So neither do many of 'the prieſts now, who, without regard to law or 'magiſtrates, run furiouſly and tumultuouſly into 'their neighbours grounds, with their ſervants and 'teams, and forcibly and arbitrarily take and carry 'away their corn and hay, when, where, and in what 'quantity they pleaſe. Will the prieſts alledge, that 'notwithſtanding theſe irregular practices, yet they 'have the laws and magiſtrates on their ſides? So 'had Demetrius and his company too, while the good 'apoſtle, not backed by laws, nor countenanced 'by magiſtracy, was yet enabled, by Divine aſſiſtance, 'to ſtand the ſhock of all their rage and fury, and 'boldly to teſtify againſt that which was corrupt and 'naught, although it had the favour and ſupport of a 'law and magiſtracy too: and indeed, ſo apt is the 'compariſon in moſt reſpects, between thoſe ſhrine-'makers and theſe tithe-takers, that my adverſary in 'vain labours to retort it; for even the very particu-'lars he inſtances to caſt it upon me, fix it the more 'firmly on the head of himſelf, and his own party.

'Nor

'Nor is he leſs put to it, to avoid the force of his 'own unwary expreſſions of the Oil for the Lamp, 'and Pay for the Soldier; whereby he hath diſcovered, 'that he and his brethren are mere mercenary men, 'whoſe lamp will burn no longer than it is fed with 'the oil of tithes. This is one of the *Arcana Cleri*, 'a ſecret (it ſeems) that ſhould not have been divulged. 'But children, and he knows who beſides, are ſaid to 'tell true. And he having inconſiderately blabbed it 'out, his chief care and art is now how to palliate, 'extenuate, and mince the matter, and varniſh it 'over with ſome kind of flouriſh, that the ground of 'it may not be ſeen; but this he does ſo weakly, and 'lays his colour ſo thin, that even the weakeſt eye 'may eaſily ſee through it. The mention I made of 'theſe paſſages in my former book, he calls tedious 'and nauſeous repetitions; and tedious no doubt, 'and nauſeous it is to him and his brethren, to ſee the 'falſe foundation of their miniſtry ſo openly expoſed: 'but ſo little do I fear thoſe repetitions being nauſeous 'or tedious to the indifferent reader, that upon this 'occaſion I deſire him to peruſe them again, in the '6, 7, 8, and 9 pages of my former book.

'From tithes being the oil to their lamp, and pay 'to their army, he ſays, I draw (as I imagine) a 'cutting conſequence, viz. That their lamps will not 'burn without oil, nor they fight without pay. This 'cutting conſequence (as he calls it) he touches as 'tenderly as if he was afraid it would cut his fingers,

'though he well knew, that in the wording of it, he 'had taken off its edge as much as he could: for if 'my conſequence had been only, that their lamps will 'not burn without oil, it would not then have been 'ſo keen. He might then have replied, Whoſe will? 'Can any lamp burn without oil? No ſure. Every 'lamp muſt have oil; but the oil ſhould be ſuitable 'to the lamp; an outward lamp ſhould have outward 'oil, an inward lamp inward oil. Now they pre-'tending their miniſtry to be a ſpiritual lamp, a 'religious lamp, (as the true miniſtry indeed is) and 'is and can be nouriſhed only by the ſpiritual hea-'venly oil of the divine eternal word; and yet con-'feſſing tithes to be the oil that nouriſhes their mi-'niſterial lamp, and without which their lamp will 'not burn: this plainly ſhews their lamp is not ſpiri-'tual, nor their miniſtry what they pretend,' &c.

By this we may judge, * *Ex pede Herculem*, of the prieſt's performance, and T. Ellwood's anſwer, had he gone through and finiſhed it; which yet I hope, ſo far as he hath gone, may one time or other ſee the light, being well worth the peruſal as it is; and had he finiſhed it, I am ſatisfied it would have been a very ſerviceable piece; no hand, in my judgment, being more capable of ſuch a performance. But he had, as I ſaid, ſome other ſervices on his hands to divert him; of which, his anſwer to William Rogers's great book aforeſaid, in 1682, intitled, An Antidote againſt the Infection of William Rogers's

* As of a giant by his toe,

book,

book, miſcalled the Chriſtian Quaker, in five parts, ſoon after, no doubt was one, containing above thirty ſheets: in which he anſwered him chapter by chapter, and almoſt paragraph by paragraph, in relation to church government, and the good order of truth eſtabliſhed amongſt us; and alſo as to moſt of the principles of truth, which the ſaid W. Rogers, in one part of his work, had endeavoured to pervert to his own ends. A laborious work it was, and difficult taſk to go through ſo evenly as he hath done; and though it is controverſy, yet pleaſant to read. As alſo his caution to conſtables, and other inferior officers, concerning the execution of the Conventicle Act. With ſome obſervations thereupon. Humbly offered, by way of advice to ſuch well-meaning and moderate juſtices of the peace as would not willingly ruin their peaceable neighbours, &c. which is mentioned in his own account.

And now to come to the time where he breaks off his own relation, and to carry it on, in ſome meaſure, though far ſhort and inferior to what his own hand could have done: for it cannot be expected, that any one can write another man's life like himſelf, there being many paſſages, publick and private, outward and inward, even as to the frame of his own mind and condition between God and his own ſoul, which, as no man knoweth the things of a man, ſave the ſpirit of a man which is in him, ſo none can relate but himſelf, or like himſelf: for as the wiſe man ſays, "The heart

" knoweth his own bitterneſs, and the ſtranger can-
" not intermeddle with his joy." But what occurs from my own knowledge, or from his books and papers, pertinent to the caſe in hand, ſhall faithfully be related.

Therefore to reſume the thread of his diſcourſe, and begin where he leaves off. He intimates at the cloſe of his own account, that the magiſtrates not thinking the laws made againſt us, viz. the Conventicle Act, &c. ſevere enough, perverted the law, by making our peaceable meetings riots, and indicting our friends as rioters, that they might fine at pleaſure; which he knew to be contrary to law and juſtice: nor was it long, ſays he, before he had occaſion offered more throughly to conſider this matter, (viz. the breaking up of the meeting near Wooburn by juſtice Hampſon; ſending friends to priſon, and indicting them for a riot) which ſhews he deſigned to write a book on that ſubject, though he doth not mention it; and accordingly did this year, after the Caution to Conſtables, &c. as aforeſaid. This he called 'A Diſcourſe concerning 'Riots: occaſioned by ſome of the people called 'Quakers being indicted for a Riot,' &c. Of which he gives, by way of preface, this further account: 'The proceedings of late in city and country, againſt 'ſome of the people called Quakers for riots, for only 'meeting peaceably together to ſerve and worſhip 'God, firſt put me upon enquiring into the nature 'of riots: what upon enquiry I have found, I here

'preſent

'preſent to publick view for common benefit, that 'none through ignorance may be the occaſion of 'bringing an unjuſt ſuffering upon an innocent peo-'ple, and thereby guilt on themſelves. I do not 'pretend much ſkill in law (a ſtudy and profeſſion I 'was never bred to) but having ſpent ſome hours on 'this occaſion, in ſearching what the law books ſay 'in this caſe, I hope I may, without incurring the 'cenſure of preſumption, communicate my gleaning 'to ſuch of my well-meaning countrymen, as have 'not leiſure or opportunity to inform themſelves 'otherwiſe. I ſolemnly declare, I have no other end 'or aim in this work, than to do good, and prevent 'evil: which conſideration, with men of candour 'and ingenuity, will be, I hope, a ſufficient apology 'for my ſeeming boldneſs in this undertaking.' And ſo he proceeds to ſet forth what riots are in the law and law-books, of which he cites divers (and Scripture too) to ſhew that our peaceable meetings, which in thoſe days they uſed to make riots, that they might impriſon and fine us at pleaſure, could not be riots; though through ignorance or envy, they were often ſo rendered, (which ſhewed their injuſtice) ſaying, 'How truly I have ſtated the caſe on the one hand, 'with reſpect to riots, the many quotations in the 'foregoing diſcourſe will ſhew. How true an ac-'count, on the other hand, I have given of our 'meetings, the whole nation, and all nations where 'we have meetings, may judge. Upon the whole,

'my requeſt is, (ſays he) that all, both juſtices and 'jurors, who have or ſhall be concerned in this or 'the like caſe, will ſeriouſly weigh the matter, and 'not ſtrain the law beyond its due extent: (adding) 'To oppreſs any by colour of law, is the greateſt 'abuſe of law.' Concluding with a ſerious recapitulation, and application of the whole, that none for the future might err ignorantly in that reſpect; and if any would wilfully, they might be left without excuſe.

About the ſame time, or not long after, he writ alſo a ſeaſonable diſſuaſive from perſecution, humbly and modeſtly, yet with Chriſtian freedom and plainneſs of ſpeech, offered to the conſideration of all concerned therein; on behalf generally of all that ſuffer for conſcience-ſake; particularly the people called Quakers. In the beginning of which, he defines what perſecution is. 'Perſecution (ſays he) is 'a word of ſo harſh a ſound, and ſo generally diſtaſte-'ful to Engliſh ears, that ſcarce any of thoſe who are 'moſt forward and active in that work, are willing 'to have their actions called by that name. That 'none therefore who have ſet an hand to that work, 'or whoſe minds are any whit inclined thereto, may, 'from the diſlike they have to the word [Perſecution] 'reject this diſſuaſive as a thing wherein they are not 'concerned; I think it needful here to declare, what 'it is I mean by perſecution. By perſecution then, 'I intend a forcing or compelling any, by pains or 'penalties, bodily or pecuniary, to relinquiſh or for-

'ſake

'ſake that exerciſe of religion, or way of worſhip,
'which they believe to be the right way of worſhip,
'and the true and acceptable exerciſe of religion,
'which God hath required of them. And to receive,
'embrace, conform to, and perform ſome other
'exerciſe of religion, and way of worſhip, which
'they who are ſo compelled, are either firmly per-
'ſuaded is not the right, or at leaſt have no belief
'that it is right. This (in ſhort) is that which I
'call perſecution; and this is that which I diſſuade
'from, whatever other name the actors of it may
'pleaſe themſelves in calling it by.'

I. To begin with the firſt of theſe, viz. 'The 'forcing, or compelling any to forſake and leave that 'exerciſe of religion, or way of worſhip,' &c. The reaſons by which he endeavours to diſſuade all men from ſuch an undertaking, are theſe: [*i. e.* the heads of them.]

'1. You may, for ought you know, be found 'fighting againſt God: you are not, you cannot be, 'upon your own principles infallibly ſure, that that way 'of worſhip which you thus endeavour to force us 'from, is not the true worſhip of God.—

'2. By endeavouring to force us from that way of 'worſhip, which we believe the Lord hath led us 'into, and requireth of us, you endeavour to force 'us to make ſhipwreck of faith.—

'3. In endeavouring, by force and cruelty, to 'reſtrain us from worſhipping God, as we are fully 'perſuaded He hath taught us, and doth require us, 'you go out of the path of the righteous, and tread 'in the ſteps of the wicked and ungodly.—

'4. That exerciſe of religion which you would 'force us from, is not ſimply of itſelf condemned 'and diſallowed by that law, by the ſeverity of which 'you would force us from it.—

'5. In thus eagerly purſuing us, and diſturbing 'our peaceable meetings, you give yourſelves, as well 'as us, a great deal of needleſs trouble.—Refrain 'from theſe men, and let them alone.—

'6. And laſtly, be pleaſed to conſider, what ſort 'of agents, and inſtruments you are fain to make uſe 'of (and not ſeldom are yourſelves made uſe of by) 'to carry on this work.' Concluding this part thus: 'O never give cauſe for this epitaph to be written 'on your tombs, *Here lies a Perſecutor of the People 'of God.*'

II. Now for the other branch of perſecution, viz. 'The forcing or compelling of any, by pains or 'penalties, to receive, embrace, conform to, and 'perform ſome exerciſe of religion, and way of 'worſhip,' &c. The reaſons by which he endeavours to diſſuade all men from ſuch an undertaking, are theſe: [viz. the heads.]

'1. In

'1. In thus impoſing your way of worſhip upon 'others, you act quite contrary to Chriſt and his 'apoſtles.—

'2. In thus impoſing your way of worſhip upon 'others, you follow the worſt of patterns, Nebu-'chadnezzar king of Babylon, &c.—

'3. In forcing people to your way of worſhip, 'who have no belief that it is the right, you cauſe 'them to ſin; for whatſoever is not of faith is ſin.—

'4. In forcing people to your way of worſhip, 'who have a firm perſuaſion and belief that it is not 'the right, you make men hypocrites and time-'ſervers.—

'5. By obtruding and enforcing your religion upon 'others, you greatly diſparage and undervalue it, 'and give men the more ground to ſuſpect and 'diſlike it.—

'6. You break that great command, which Chriſt 'ſays is the law and the prophets, viz. "All things "whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, "do ye even ſo to them." Matth. vii. 12.—'

All theſe reaſons are illuſtrated and backed with Scripture and reaſon, concluding with a very cloſe and ſeaſonable application to our perſecutors. A ſolid ſerious diſcourſe it is, if any arguments had been ſufficient to diſſuade men from perſecution, (of which there was very great about this time, particularly in London, Briſtol, and divers other places) the whole

being well worth peruſal; and I ſhould have inclined to inſert it at large, but that it hath pleaſed God to incline the hearts of our ſuperiors to eaſe us in that reſpect, by granting a toleration to Proteſtant diſſenters; for which we are thankful. Theſe three, viz. the Caution to Conſtables, Diſcourſe of Riots, and Diſſuaſive from Perſecution, were all written, or at leaſt printed this year 1683.

And he acquitted himſelf ſo well on theſe ſubjects, that one William Tournay, to him unknown, ſent him a letter from London, taking notice of the aforeſaid tracts, which he was ſo well pleaſed with, that he deſired his judgment on the 23d, 29th, and 35th of Queen Elizabeth, in relation to the proceedings then upon them: to which our friend T. Ellwood returned him an anſwer in a large letter, which is in his decades of letters, among many others to divers perſons, and on various ſubjects, well worthy the peruſal, from the year 1670 down to his latter times; and if they were publiſhed, would help to ſupply the deficiency of his own account of the latter part of his life.

About this time he writ the following POEM or HYMN of praiſe to the LORD; which I think well deſerves to be inſerted in this place, intitled,

COLLAUDEMUS

COLLAUDEMUS DOMINUM.

COME, let us praiſe the LORD with one conſent,
All ye, whoſe hearts to honour Him are bent;
Come, let us of His gracious dealings tell,
For with us He hath dealt exceeding well;
When Him we did not ſeek, He did us find,
He gave us ſight, when we were dark and blind;
He brought us home, when we were run aſtray,
And ſet our feet i'th' new and living way;
When hunger-pin'd, He gave us heavenly bread,
And, with the choiceſt dainties, hath us fed,
He from miſ-leading guides deliver'd hath,
And led us forward in the juſt man's path;
He hath with ſtrength and courage us endu'd,
With zeal for truth and Chriſtian fortitude.
He wiſdom from above doth daily give,
To them that in His truth ſincerely live.
In battle He hath us preſerv'd thus far,
And made us victors in the holy war;
Our enemies He greatly hath ſubdu'd,
His ſword in blood o'th' ſlain hath been imbru'd.
He hath preſerved from the roaring lion,
And brought a little remnant ſafe to Sion,
Where, in His preſence, they ſit down and ſing
Eternal Hallelujah's to their KING,
Who lives and reigns, and may His reign extend
Throughout the univerſe, and have no end.

T. E.

But to proceed:

William Rogers, whom our author anſwered in the year 1682, as aforeſaid, though he did not reply to it, or ever attempted it that I have heard of, putting forth a rhiming ſcourge for George Whitehead, againſt whom he bent his moſt inveterate ſpleen, and who had alſo anſwered his great book, falſly called the Chriſtian Quaker, in a book intitled, The Accuſer of the Brethren caſt down, &c. T. Ellwood writ an anſwer to his ſcourge in verſe, intitled, *Rogero-Maſtix*, A Rod for William Rogers, in Return for his Rhiming Scourge: for which he gives the following reaſon:

TO ſuch as aſk, why I in verſe have writ?
This anſwer I return, I held it fit,
Verſe ſhould in verſe be anſwer'd, proſe in proſe,
My adverſary his own weapon choſe.
He choſe before in proſe to write, and then
I anſwer'd him in proſe. So now again,
Since he his ſtile from proſe to verſe hath chang'd,
And in the Muſes walks hath boldly rang'd,
In his own method him I choſe to treat,
Leſt he ſhould wiſe be in his own conceit.

And begins thus:

The * Preacher tells us, that 'beneath the ſun
'There's no new thing; for that which ſhall be done,

* Prov. 26. 5.

'Hath

'Hath been before; and what is now a doing,
'Shall acted be again in times enſuing.'
Let none be ſhaken therefore in his mind,
If he God's people now reviled find,
Reproach'd with bitter words, and vilify'd,
With filthy ſlanders loaded, and bely'd
By wicked men. Such was the church's ſtate
Of old, as ſacred ſtory doth relate.

And having recounted the oppoſition made by Rabſhaketh, Sanballat, and Tobiah, &c. to the Jews, and Diotrephes to the Apoſtles; he proceeds, page 6.

By theſe examples, plainly it appears,
How Satan play'd his pranks in former years;
What arts he us'd, how craftily he wrought,
What inſtruments, whereby to work he ſought:
One while profeſſed enemies, and then
Another while he choſe falſe brethren;
And though thoſe agents now are dead and gone,
Satan remains the ſame, the Evil One.
He miſchief always to the church intends,
And, miſchief to effect, his agents ſends.
Though Rabſhaketh be dead, Tobiah rotten,
Sanballat and Diotrephes forgotten,
The wicked ſpirit, that in them did ſtrive
Againſt God's truth and church, is ſtill alive,
And other inſtruments doth daily raiſe,
To hinder truth's fair progreſs in theſe days.

He

He agents has, great ſtore of ev'ry ſize
And ſort. How numerous are truth's enemies!
Yet bleſt be God! a greater number's thoſe
That ſtand for truth, than thoſe that it oppoſe.
I liſt not here a muſter-roll to make
Of all who, from without, in hand did take
To battle againſt truth, and ſhake their ſpears
At Iſrael's camp within theſe twenty years.
Nor do I purpoſe to enum'rate all,
Who, in that time, themſelves did Quakers call,
That through miſguided zeal, or diſcontent,
Their bows againſt their brethren have bent.
But ſince ſome few of late, appear to be
With rage and envy fill'd, to that degree,
That with more bitterneſs than all the reſt,
Their malice againſt truth they have expreſt,
My purpoſe is to ſingle out from theſe,
Him that appears as their Diotrephes;
And that is ROGERS: for though Criſp and Bug,
With other ſome, do at the ſame oar tug,
And toil hard at it too with all their might,
Yet can they do no more but ſhew their ſpight.
And for the reſt, that lie behind the ſcreen,
And move the wheels, but like not to be ſeen,
Although they help to carry on the work,
I take leſs notice of them, while they lurk.
Them therefore leaving, I return again,
To view Will. Rogers his poetick ſtrain,

Who

Who having been too often foil'd in proſe,
To try his fortune now in verſe hath choſe;
If verſe, without offence, that may be call'd,
Which is delivered in rhimes ſo bald,
So flat, ſo dull, ſo rough, ſo void of grace,
Where ſymphony and cadence have no place;
So full of chaſms, ſtuck with proſy pegs,
Whereon his tired muſe might reſt her legs,
(Not having wings) and take new breath, that then
She might, with much ado, hop on again.
His words [to that effect,—'Why ſo? How ſo?
'Hence I obſerve,—Hence I conclude,—'] do ſhow,
His purſy muſe was often out of wind,
And glad when ſhe a perching-place could find.
What drew thee William, to this rhiming fit,
Having no more propenſity to it?
Couldſt think ſuch hobling and unequal rhimes,
That make a jangling like diſorder'd chimes,
Could of a POEM e'er deſerve the name,
Or e'er be read without the author's ſhame?
What clouds of darkneſs in thy lines appear!
How is thy ſtile perplex't! how far from clear!
Thy muſe is wrapt in thickeſt fogs of night,
Which ſhews thou art departed from the light.
Nor ſun, nor moon, nor ſtar throughout thy book,
Is to be ſeen. No ſpring nor cryſtal brook
Glides thro' thy margin. No, thy waters run
Black like the ſtreams of Styx, or Phlegeton.

And having gone through, and anſwered this adverſary's book, he ſums it up, and concludes as followeth. Page 29.

William, thy work is weigh'd, thy ſpirit try'd,
And both thy work and ſpirit are deny'd.
Thy ſpirit is the ſame that wrought of old
In Sanballat, Tobiah, and the bold
Aſſyrian railer Rabſkaketh, who ſought
God's work and people to have brought to nought,
As thou haſt done: and what the Prophet cry'd
In that caſe, may to thee be well apply'd.
The Virgin hath deſpis'd thee, Zion's daughter
Makes thee the object of her ſcorn and laughter.
The daughter of Jeruſalem hath ſhook
At thee her head (with a diſdainful look:)
For, whom haſt thou reproached and blaſphem'd,
And againſt whom haſt thou ſo loudly ſcream'd,
And lift thine eyes on high? Thy ſpleen doth ſwell,
Againſt the Holy One of Iſrael.
To this effect the Prophet did declaim
Againſt the proud Aſſyrian, from whom came
That curſed railer, who e'en ſeems to be
In railing blaſphemies, a type of thee.
What Nehemiah to Sanballat ſaid,
(When he foul ſlanders to his charge had laid)
That I to thee, of all thy ſlanders, thus:
There are no ſuch things acted amongſt us,

As

As thy abuſive pamphlet doth contain,
But out of thine own heart thou doſt them feign.
And where thou carp'ſt at what we do aright,
We can for truth's-ſake in reproach delight.
The Lord rebuilding is His holy city,
Which thou and others envy (more's the pity)
And put forth all the ſtrength and art you have,
The work to ſtop, the workmen to deprave.
But never be ſo vain, to think you can
The work obſtruct; 'tis not the work of man.
The God of Heaven, He will proſper us,
And therefore we His ſervants (ſtrengthened thus)
Will riſe and build, as God ſhall us endue
With courage, ſtrength, and counſel for't: but you
No portion have, who do the work condemn,
Right nor memorial in JERUSALEM.

My ſoul laments your ſtate, who once have felt
That tend'ring pow'r, which ſtony hearts can melt,
And have been in ſome meaſure, tend'red by it,
But now ſo hard'ned are as to defy it:
All you I mean, who have in print appear'd
With envious hearts, and conſcience doubly ſear'd,
To fight againſt the truth, and to expoſe
God's people to the fury of their foes.
And all you too, who do that work abet,
Although your names thereto ye have not ſet.
Ah! had ye kept unto the heav'nly grace,
Which in your inward parts the Lord did place,

And

And not, in diſcontented humour, run
After lo-here's, lo-there's, as you have done;
Ye might, in truth, the bond of peace have known,
And in the ſpirit's unity have grown,
Which is the Church's girdle, highly priz'd
By all the faithful, though by you deſpis'd;
Whereas (by letting in firſt falſe ſurmiſings
Of others, which e're long produc'd deſpiſings,
And ſo made way for prejudice to enter,
Till cancred malice in your hearts did center)
Ye now are broke, and into pieces ſhatter'd,
And from the body and the head are ſcatter'd;
Without the camp ye ſtand (oh diſmal ſtate!)
Snarling amongſt the dogs, without the gate;
Belching forth ſlander and calumniation
'Gainſt thoſe that in the light have kept their ſtation.
Oh! may the God of Heaven ſtop your way,
That ye no more the ſimple may betray.

I could not but recite thus much of the beginning and end of that book, which is ſo excellent, both for the ſubject and compoſure, that one may ſooner tranſcribe too little than too much; the whole being well worth the reading.

In the ſecond month, 1686, he had a concern upon his ſpirit, in a deep ſenſe of the enemy's working to ſow diviſions, and endeavouring to lay waſte the teſtimony

timony of truth, to write an epiſtle to friends; which he did very ſolidly and weightily, to ſtir up friends to faithfulneſs, and to beware of the enemy's wiles, and avoid that rending dividing ſpirit, which was then at work to cauſe diviſion and ſtrife among friends; which being ſo ſeaſonable and excellent, both for matter and ſtile, the whole is thought meet to be here inſerted at large, and is as followeth:

An EPISTLE to FRIENDS.

DEAR Friends, unto whom the gathering arm of the LORD hath reached, and who have known, in your ſeveral meaſures, a being gathered thereby into the heavenly life, and are witneſſes of the preſerving power, by which you have been kept faithful to the Lord, and regardful of His honour: unto you, in an eſpecial manner, is the ſalutation of my true and tender love in the Lord; and for you, as for myſelf, are the breathings and fervent deſires of my ſoul offered up, in the one Spirit, unto Him who is your God and mine, that both you and I may be for ever kept in the freſh ſenſe of His tender mercies and great

great loving-kindneſs unto us, that therein our ſouls may cleave firmly unto him, and never depart from Him. For friends, it is a trying day, a day of great difficulty and danger, wherein the enemy is at work, and very buſy, ſetting his ſnares on every ſide, and ſpreading his temptations on every hand: and ſome, alas! have entered thereinto, and are caught and held therein, for whom my ſoul in ſecret mourns.

And truly friends, a great weight hath been upon my ſpirit for many days, and my mind hath been deeply exerciſed, in the ſenſe I have of the enemy's prevailing, by one bait or other, to unſettle the minds of ſome, whom the arm of the Lord had reached unto, and in ſome meaſure gathered to a reſting place: but not abiding in that pure light, by which they were at firſt viſited, and to which they were at firſt turned, the underſtanding hath been vailed again; the eye, which was once in ſome meaſure opened, hath the God of the world inſenſibly blinded again, and darkneſs is again come over, to that degree, that they can now contentedly take up again, what in the day of their convincement, and in the time of their true tenderneſs, they caſt off as a burthen too heavy to be borne. O my friends, this hath been the enemy's work; therefore it greatly behoves all to watch againſt him, for it hath been for want of watchfulneſs, that he hath got entrance into any. For when the mind hath been from off the true watch, in a ſecure and careleſs ſtate, then hath he ſecretly wrought,

wrought, and preſented his fair baits, his allurements or enticements by pleaſure or profit, to catch the unwary mind. And hence it hath come to paſs, that ſome, who have come out fairly, and begun well, and have ſeemed in good earneſt to have ſet their hands to God's plough, have looked back, and been weary of the yoke of Chriſt, and have either luſted after the fleſh-pots of Egypt again, or turned aſide into ſome bye-path or crooked way in the wilderneſs, and thereby have fallen ſhort of the promiſed good land.

But you, my dear friends, in whom the word of life abides, and who abide in the virtue and ſavour thereof, ye know the wiles of the enemy, and the power which ſubdues him, and the rock in which the preſervation and ſafety is. So that I write not theſe things unto you, becauſe ye know them not; but the end of my thus writing is, to ſtir up the pure mind in all, upon whom the name of the Lord is called, that we all may be provoked to watchfulneſs againſt the workings of the wicked one. Therefore, dear friends, bear, I beſeech you, the word of exhortation, though from one that is little and low, (and through mercy ſenſible of it) and who hath not been accuſtomed to appear after this manner; for the wind, ye know, bloweth where it liſteth.

Friends, call to mind the former times, and remember the days that are paſt and gone, when the day of the Lord firſt dawned unto you, and His power ſeized upon you. Ye know how weighty and retired the

ſpirits

ſpirits of friends then were; how grave and ſolid their deportment and carriage; how few and ſavoury their words, tending to edify the hearers; how great a fear and backwardneſs was in them, to enter into familiarity with the world's people. O friends, that was a good day, and that was a ſafe ſtate; for fear begets watchfulneſs, and watchfulneſs is a means to prevent danger. Therefore all friends, keep in the holy fear, and therein watch againſt the enemy, that he entangle you not, nor hurt your ſpirits, by a too near familiarity, and intimate converſing with the people of the world; for therein, I aſſure you, lies a ſnare. For though it be both lawful and neceſſary, and in ſome caſes alſo uſeful and ſerviceable to the truth, to converſe with them that are without, yet if any friend ſhould adventure in a frank and free mind, beyond the limits of the pure fear, to entertain familiarity with the world's people, the ſpirit of the world in them will ſeek an entrance, and, if not diligently watched againſt, will alſo get an entrance, and bring a hurt and a loſs upon him or them into whom it ſo gets. For being once entered, it will inſenſibly work and diſpoſe the mind, into which it is got, to a condeſcention to and compliance with the people of the world it converſes with, firſt in one thing, then in another, in words, in behaviour, &c. (little things in appearance, but great in conſequence) till at length an indifferency gets up in the mind, and the teſtimony of truth by degrees is let fall. But while the pure fear

is

is kept to and dwelt in, the watch is always ſet, the ſpirit is retired and weighty, and an holy awefulneſs reſts upon the mind, which renders ſuch converſe both ſafe to the friends, and more ſerviceable to them they converſe withal.

And, friends, not only in your converſing with the world's people, but in all your converſation and courſe of life, watch againſt the ſpirit of the world, for it lies near to tempt, and to draw out the mind, and to lead back into the world again. You know, friends, that at the firſt, when the viſiting arm of the Lord reached to us, He led us out of the world's ways, manners, cuſtoms, and faſhions, and a cloſe teſtimony, both in word and practice, was borne againſt them. But how hath this teſtimony been kept up, and kept to by all, who have ſince made profeſſion of the truth? Ah, how hath the enemy, for want of watchfulneſs, ſtole in upon too too many, and led out their minds from that which did at firſt convince them, into a liberty beyond the Croſs of Chriſt Jeſus; and in that liberty they have run into the world's faſhions, which the worldly ſpirit continually invents to feed the vain and airy minds withal, that they may not come to gravity and ſolidity?

Thence it hath come to paſs, that there is ſcarce a new faſhion come up, or a fantaſtick cut invented, but ſome one or other, that profeſſes truth, is ready with the foremoſt to run into it. Ah, friends, the world ſees this, and ſmiles, and points the finger at it.

And

And this is both a hurt to the particular, and a reproach to the general. Therefore, O let the lot be caſt, let ſearch be made by every one, and let every one examine himſelf, that this Achan, with his Babyloniſh garment, may be found out, and caſt out; for indeed he is a troubler of Iſrael. And all friends, who upon true ſearch ſhall find yourſelves concerned in this particular, I warn and exhort you all, return to that which at firſt convinced you; to that keep cloſe, in that abide, that therein ye may know as at the firſt (not only a bridle to the tongue, but) a curb to the roving mind, a reſtraint to the wandering deſire. For aſſuredly, friends, if truth be kept to, none will need to learn of the world what to wear, what to put on, or how to ſhape and faſhion their garments; but truth will teach all how beſt to anſwer the end of cloathing, both for uſeful ſervice and modeſt decency. And the Croſs of Chriſt will be a yoke to the unruly will, and a reſtraint upon the wanton mind, and will crucify that nature that delights in finery and in bravery of apparel, in which the true adorning doth not ſtand, but in the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even a meek and quiet ſpirit.* And the grace of God, which hath appeared to all, and which hath brought ſalvation to many, will not only teach to deny all ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world,† but will alſo lead thoſe that obey it, out

* 1 Pet. iii. 4. † Tit. ii. 11, 12.

of

of all exceſs, and out of all ſuperfluities and worldly vanities, and will teach them to order their converſation aright. Therefore to this heavenly grace let every mind be turned, and therein ſtayed, that thereby all who profeſs the truth may be kept in the holy limits of it; that in their whole converſation and courſe of life, in eating, in drinking, in putting on apparel, and in whatſoever elſe we do or take in hand, that all may be done to the glory of God,* that our moderation in all things may appear unto all men.

And let not any deceive and hurt themſelves with a falſe plea, ſaying, 'I will be left to my liberty; I have 'freedom to do, go, or wear ſo and ſo; and religion 'ſtands not in cloaths,' &c. for that liberty which the worldly ſpirit leads into, is not indeed the true liberty, but is a falſe and feigned liberty, which leads into true and real bondage. And though religion ſtands not ſimply in cloaths; yet true religion ſtands in that which ſets a bound and limit to the mind with reſpect to cloaths, as well as to other things. So that where there is a running out into exceſs and vanity in apparel, that is a certain indication and token that the mind is got looſe, and hath caſt off the yoke, and is broke away from its due ſubjection to that divine power, in which the true religion ſtands.

Great hath been the hurt which the enemy hath done in this day, by leading into a falſe freedom, and crying up a wrong liberty; for under this pretence

* 1 Cor. x. 31.

have crept in great diſorders, ſome running out one way, and ſome another; ſome mixing in marriages with the world's people, and ſome going to the prieſt to be married. And many looſe and unclean ſpirits have ſhrouded themſelves under this plauſible pretence of being left to their liberty, unto whom truth's order is irkſome and uneaſy; and they kick againſt it, and call it Impoſition, becauſe it checks their licentious liberty. Therefore all, who join with their plea, examine and try what liberty it is ye claim and ſtand for; for the true liberty is not inconſiſtent with the Croſs of Chriſt, nor repugnant to His yoke, but agrees with it, and is obtained through it, and maintained by it. And none whom the Son hath made free indeed, will or can plead or make uſe of that liberty, in oppoſition to any means which the God of order hath appointed, or ſet up in his church for the keeping out confuſion, diſorder, and looſeneſs. And hereby all may take a right meaſure, and may certainly know what kind of liberty that is, which ſome have ſo hotly contended for, in oppoſition to that neceſſary and commendable order which God hath led his people into, and which the enemy, in his agents, labours ſo hard to lead them out of. For the enemy well knows, that the tendency and ſervice thereof, is to detect and diſcover his ſecret workings, and to bring his deeds to light and judgment; and therefore he ſtrives with might and main to overturn it, crying out through his inſtruments, 'Away with your order; let every one

'be

'be left to his liberty.' By which ſeemingly fair and ſpecious plea, not only the looſe, diſorderly, factious ſpirits have been let up, and encouraged to greater boldneſs and licentiouſneſs, but ſome ſimple and well-meaning friends alſo, not ſeeing the deſign of Satan therein, have been miſled thereby, and made uſe of by the enemy, and the more ſubtle of his inſtruments, to oppoſe the good order of truth. Thus hath the enemy wrought, and ſought to lay waſte the work of the Lord. But the Lord, magnified be his holy name, hath not been wanting to his people, who in ſincerity of heart have diligently waited on Him, and truſted in Him; for He hath all along raiſed up ſome, whoſe eye He hath opened, to ſee the deſign and working of the evil one, and whoſe ſpirits He hath engaged to ſtand up in a faithful teſtimony againſt him, contending for the way of truth. Which when they, in whom the enemy wrought, perceived, and found they could not run over the heads of friends, and carry things on as themſelves pleaſed, they ſet themſelves in a heady wilful ſpirit, to raiſe diſturbances in meetings for buſineſs, by encouraging and abetting ſuch heady, looſe, contentious, and diſorderly perſons as would join with them; thus hardening themſelves, and provoking the Lord to give them up to blindneſs and hardneſs of heart, till at length the enemy prevailed ſo far upon them, as to work them, by degrees, from diſcontent to prejudice, then to enmity, and ſo

at length, in divers places, to an open defection, apoſtacy, and ſeparation.

Now although I know, my dear friends, that ye who have kept your habitation in the light of the Lord, and whoſe eye is ſingle therein, have a clear ſight and underſtanding, that the ſpirit which hath thus wrought and fought againſt the truth, is not, nor can be, of God, but is of the wicked one; and although the fruits it hath brought forth, through the agents and inſtruments in and by which it hath wrought, viz. Making diſturbances in meetings, to the breaking the church's peace; cauſing diviſions amongſt friends; publiſhing to the world moſt wicked, malicious, railing, and ſcandalous books againſt friends, (an effect of the greateſt enmity) ſhutting and keeping friends out of their common meeting-houſes, in which they have a juſt right and property, and not ſuffering them to meet therein, (which is a part of the perſecution inflicted on friends by the world) and at length alſo ſet up ſeparate meetings, in oppoſition to the meetings of God's people: although, I ſay, theſe fruits are ſufficient of themſelves to diſcover and manifeſt, to an unclouded mind, what ſpirit that is and muſt needs be, which hath brought them forth; yet inaſmuch as ſome, partly through weakneſs of judgment, and partly through perſonal affection to ſome of thoſe leading ſeparatiſts, are yet in danger to be betrayed by their fair words and feigned ſpeeches, wherewith they lie in wait to deceive; I feel a concern remain upon my

ſpirit,

ſpirit, in the love of God to warn all ſuch, that they join not with, nor give countenance unto that ſpirit, that hath thus wrought againſt the Lord, and againſt his people.

For, friends, in the holy fear of the living God, and in the openings of the ſpring of his pure life in my ſoul at this time, and from the certain knowledge and clear demonſtration which I have received from Him therein, I teſtify and declare unto you, That this ſpirit, which in this day hath run out, and hath drawn out ſome into oppoſition againſt the way and work of the Lord, into diviſion and ſeparation from the people of the Lord, and from the holy aſſemblies which the Lord hath gathered, and by his powerful preſence hath owned, and daily doth own: this ſpirit, I ſay, is the ſame with that which hath formerly wrought, in other appearances, againſt the Truth in our time, and is the ſame with that ſpirit, that wrought againſt the work of the Lord in the days of the holy apoſtles. This myſtery of iniquity then wrought, and cauſed many to turn aſide, and to leave the right way of the Lord, and to forſake the aſſemblies of God's people;* yea, and to run into ſeparation too; upon whom the Holy Ghoſt hath ſet his brand, that they were ſenſual, having not the ſpirit.† And many cloſe and ſharp teſtimonies did the Lord give forth through his ſervants in that day againſt this ſpirit, and againſt thoſe that

* Heb. x. 25. † Jude xix.

were joined to it, and acted by it, as may be ſeen in the holy ſcriptures.

Yea, friends, this ſpirit that hath led ſome now to ſet up their ſeparate meetings, is the ſame that led Jeroboam, the ſon of Nebat, to ſet up his ſeparate altar at Bethel, of which you may read, 1 Kings, 12th and 13th chapters. He was afraid, that if the people ſhould continue to go up to the houſe of the Lord, to do ſacrifice there, as they had been accuſtomed to do, and as the Lord had required, they would then forſake him, and return to the Lord again. And this ſpirit now is afraid, that if they whom he hath ſeduced and drawn aſide, ſhould ſtill frequent the aſſemblies of God's people, and continue to meet with friends as before; that heavenly power which is eminently manifeſt in the meetings of God's people, might at one time or other reach unto them, touch their hearts, open the right eye in them, and give them to ſee the miſchief and miſery he is leading them into. And therefore to prevent this, and to keep his captives cloſe unto him, he hath contrived to ſet up ſeparate meetings, in oppoſition to the meetings of God's appointment, as Jeroboam ſet up his ſeparate altar, in oppoſition to the altar which God had commanded to be ſet up; and to keep the people from going thereto. And ſo ſubtilly did this ſpirit work then, as well as now, that Jeroboam contrived to have his falſe worſhip bear ſome reſemblance to the true, that he might the more eaſily beguile the people; for he ordained

ordained a feaſt like unto the feaſt that was in Judah, 1 Kings xii. 32; but it was in the month which he had deviſed of his own heart, verſe 33. Mark that, there is a blot upon it. How fair or ſpecious ſoever the worſhip he ſet up appeared, or ſeemed to be, yet it was but the device of his own heart; it was neither appointed by God, nor accepted of God. For you may read in the 13th chapter, that the Lord ſent a prophet, a man of God, out of Judah to Bethel, and he cried againſt the altar in the word of the Lord, and propheſied the deſtruction thereof by Joſiah; which was afterwards outwardly fulfilled, as you may read, 2 Kings xxiii. 15, &c. Now Joſiah ſignifies the fire, or burning of the Lord. And, in the holy dread of the living, eternal God, I declare, the fire of the Lord is kindled, and kindling againſt this accurſed ſeparating ſpirit, and againſt its work, and againſt all thoſe that join with it therein. Therefore all fear before the mighty God, and ſtand ſtill and conſider your ways, and let none reſiſt or reject the warning of the Lord, leſt ſuch be hardened to deſtruction. For Jeroboam, you may read, ſtood by his ſeparate altar, verſe 1. And when he heard the ſaying of the man of God, which he cried againſt the altar in Bethel, he put forth his hand, ſaying, Lay hold on him. But his hand which he put forth againſt him, dried up, ſo that he could not pull it in again unto him, verſe 4. O friends, conſider, how hath dryneſs and withering come upon many a great and ſtout one

in this day, who have lifted up themſelves againſt the Lord, and have ſought, by the devices of their own hearts, to eſtabliſh themſelves in their own way, againſt the way of the Lord, ſo that the hand they have put forth in that work, they could not pull in again. Now mind, I pray you, friends, and obſerve the way of the working of this ſpirit in that day. Here was the enmity, the rough nature of Cain and Eſau, the ſpirit of perſecution, got up firſt in Jeroboam, to diſmay the man of God; 'Lay hold of 'him,' ſays he. But when he ſaw that would not do, then the ſubtle ſerpent, the crafty fox, the fair ſpeeches, the ſmooth words, the ſeeming friendſhip, and ſhew of kindneſs to betray him. 'Come home 'with me,' ſays he to the man of God, 'and refreſh 'thyſelf, and I will give thee a reward,' verſe 7. O friends! ſtand in the fear and counſel of the Lord, and in the dominion of his power, over this wicked ſpirit in all its twiſtings and twinings. Let neither the frowns nor the fawnings, the threats nor the flatteries, the hard ſpeeches, nor the oily words, the phariſaical friendſhip, the diſſembling love, the ſeeming kindneſs, the familiar carriage, the free entertainment, the fine bit, the offer of advantages, &c. have any influence upon you, to draw you in the leaſt meaſure to join or touch with God's enemy; with him that ſets up a ſeparate altar, a ſeparate meeting in oppoſition to, and to draw or keep from the right way of the Lord. Mind well the anſwer which the man

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of God gave to Jeroboam's tempting invitation: 'If,' ſaid he, 'thou wilt give me half thine houſe, I will 'not go in with thee; neither will I eat bread, nor 'drink water in this place,' verſe 8. This was where the ſeparate altar was ſet up. And he gives a forcible reaſon for it: 'for ſo it was charged me by 'the word of the Lord,' verſe 9.

Here now you ſee both the charge of the Lord, and the good reſolution of the Man of God: 'I will not 'go in with thee, who haſt revolted from God; nei-'ther will I eat or drink in this place, where an 'enſign of ſeparation and oppoſition to the way of 'God is ſet up.' Conſider this well, I warn you all, in whom there is yet any true breathings after the living God, who retain any tenderneſs, and in whom there is any ſimplicity left: conſider this well, I ſay, when thy pretended friend or friends, in a great deal of ſeeming love and kindneſs, ſhall invite thee to partake with them at their ſeparate altar, to ſit down with them in their ſeparate meeting. Thou canſt not be a man of God, and go in with them, or eat or drink in that place. Thou canſt not ſit down there to wait for the bread of life, or the water of life to be given thee there: no, the word of the LORD, if thou giveſt heed unto it, will charge thee otherwiſe. Therefore to that pure living word let every mind be turned, and thereto kept, in a diligent waiting to receive wiſdom, ſtrength, and power from the Lord therein, that none may be betrayed by the ſubtilty of

the enemy, with whatſoever fair pretences he may come. For remember how the man of God, that was enticed by another to eat and drink outwardly at Bethel, the place where the ſeparate altar was ſet up, loſt his outward life therefor, ver. 18 and 24. And if thou ſhalt preſume to go in, to eat or to drink ſpiritually; that is, to join in worſhip with the ſons of Nebat at this day, in the ſeparate meetings, which any of them have ſet up, in oppoſition to the aſſemblies of God's people, and to the bleſſed way and work of the Lord; how knoweſt thou, but thou mayeſt for ever loſe thy ſpiritual life, and never know a day of quickening more?

Therefore, all friends, watch againſt every temptation thereunto, as you love your lives, as you regard the good and eternal welfare of your ſouls; and let not the name, nor perſon of any man, have power over you, to draw you aſide, neither let numbers ſway with you; in which, I know, theſe adverſaries of truth do not a little boaſt, (though bleſſed be God, with little reaſon) but remember that Jeroboam of old had ten tribes out of twelve to cry up his ſeparate altar; notwithſtanding which, he is branded to poſterity in the holy record with this brand, 'Jeroboam, 'the ſon of Nebat, WHO MADE ISRAEL TO 'SIN,' 2 Kings xiv. 24. Therefore let not any follow a multitude to do evil, Exod. xxiii. 2. But all follow that which is good, both among yourſelves, and to all men, 1 Theſſ. v. 15. For friends, you know

know whither the broad way leads, and what it is the wide gate opens into, which the many go in at; but keep ye to the ſtraight gate, and walk ye on in the narrow way, for in it is ſafety, and at the end of it everlaſting happineſs.

But friends, becauſe of the ſtraightneſs of this gate, and the narrowneſs of this way, ſome that have attempted to walk in it, are grown weary of it, and have ſought out another way which (Jeroboam-like) they have deviſed of their own hearts, wherein they may have more room, more ſcope, more company, eaſe in the fleſh, liberty to the fleſh, and all without controul. And this I am ſatisfied, hath not been the leaſt motive to the ſeparation in this day, as it was the greateſt in days paſt; though ſome that have been drawn into it, may not perhaps ſee the ground upon which it was undertaken. But the Lord hath opened an eye in many, which ſees the riſe and ground, entrance, and end of this libertine ſpirit and its work. And this eye will the Lord daily open more and more in all, that diligently and in ſincerity wait upon Him. Therefore all friends every where, who have not yet a clear ſight, and a thorough underſtanding of the nature and work, deſign and drift of this dividing ſpirit, wait, I beſeech you, in ſimplicity of heart, and lowlineſs of mind upon the Lord, and keep to the meaſure of the grace you have received from Him; and ſuffer not your minds to be ſwayed or biaſſed by any perſonal kindneſs, natural affection, relation,

kindred, or acquaintance, but ſtand ſingle and open to the Lord, not joining to, nor any way countenancing that which the teſtimony of Truth, in the ariſings of the heavenly life, and breakings forth of the divine power through any, goes forth againſt. So will your preſent ſtanding be ſafe, and you be preſerved out of the ſnares of this inſinuating and treacherous ſpirit: and the Lord, in his appointed time, as ye abide with Him, will open your underſtandings further, and give you a clearer ſight of that, which at preſent you do not fully ſee, and thereby bring you to that certainty and aſſurance, which, bleſſed be his name, he hath brought many unto.

And you, my dear friends, whoſe ſpirits the Lord hath ſtirred up, and whoſe hearts he hath engaged in an holy zeal, to ſtand up for his bleſſed Name and Truth, and to bear a faithful teſtimony againſt this wicked rending ſpirit, go on in the ſtrength and power of the Lord, in the might of the God of Jacob; for you are aſſuredly on the Lord's ſide, and the Lord Jehovah, the ſtrength of Iſrael, is on your ſide. Therefore, friends, be encouraged in the Lord, to ſtand ſtedfaſt in your teſtimony, not giving way to the enemy, no not for a moment. And take heed, I beſeech you, in the love of God, how ye enter into any treaty of peace, or terms of agreement with this ungodly treacherous ſpirit, which is out of the Truth, and draws out of the Truth, and fights againſt the Truth; for there is no peace unto it, ſaith my God.

And

And they who have joined themſelves unto it, and have wickedly given themſelves up to be acted by it, and to act for it, muſt paſs through the river of judgment, if ever they be redeemed from under its power. Friends, condemnation muſt firſt be felt and owned, before reconciliation can be known; and the fire of the Lord muſt paſs upon the tranſgreſſor, to conſume the works of darkneſs, the ungodly deeds, the envious reviling ſpeeches, the wicked, malicious, ſlanderous books, and pamphlets, &c. and to burn up the ground from whence they ſprang. For a flaming ſword hath the Lord God ſet in his Eden, which turneth every way; and none that are gone out can ever come in again, but they muſt paſs under the flaming edge thereof. Therefore, my dear friends, ſtand your ground, in the authority of the heavenly Life, and tamper not with God's enemies: remember the word of the Lord to the prophet: "Let them return unto "thee, but return not thou unto them." * And then what follows? "I will make thee unto this "people a fenced brazen wall, and they ſhall fight "againſt thee, but they ſhall not prevail againſt thee, "for I am with thee, to ſave thee, and to deliver "thee, ſaith the Lord." So the God of life fill your hearts daily more and more with a Phineas zeal for the honour of his name, and furniſh you abundantly with wiſdom and counſel, with boldneſs and courage, with ſtrength and power, to encounter and overcome

* Jeremiah xv. 19, 20.

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the enemy; and make every one more watchful againſt the ſpirit of the world, to withſtand it in all its allurements to vanity, of whatſoever kind; that whatſoever would defile the camp of the Lord, may be purged out, and kept out, that the Lord may more and more delight in his people, and ſhower down his bleſſings upon them; which is the fervent deſire of,

Your faithful friend in the love and ſervice of the unchangeable truth,

The 24th of the ſecond Month, 1686. THOMAS ELLWOOD.

After this I do not find he writ any thing, (only ſome private letters in his Decades) but lived retired till the year 1688. In which time of privacy (as fitteſt for it) he began a work which he did not finiſh till many years after, and that was the Life of David King of Iſrael, in verſe; which he began for his own diverſion, not thinking then of printing it, and carried it on to the end of the third book. But then the Prince of Orange landing, and the revolution following, the nation being in arms againſt King James, the noiſe of guns, and ſound of drums, &c. ſo diſturbed his meditation and gentle muſe, (which like the Halcion, breeds in calm weather) that his poetical genius left him for a time, and he thereupon left his work for above

above twenty years; of which more hereafter in its place.

And here he retired again for two years; ſo that I find nothing to remark of him, either publick or private, but ſome private letters, till the year 1690; when John Raunce and Charles Harris, of Wycombe, in that county, publiſhing 'A Memorial (as they 'called it) for the preſent generation, and alſo for 'that which is to come; being an Account from 'Wycombe concerning the Difference;' &c. this Thomas Ellwood anſwered in a book intitled, 'The 'Account from Wycombe (lately publiſhed by John 'Raunce and Charles Harris) examined, and found 'falſe. And a Warning thereof given, to all ſuch 'well-meaning perſons among the People called 'Quakers, as through perſonal Affection, Want of 'Conſideration, or Weakneſs of Judgment, have 'been betrayed, or may be in Danger to be betrayed 'by them, or any other in the ſame dividing Spirit 'with them; and led aſide from the Way of Truth, 'into a Separation from the People of God: for 'whoſe Recovery and Preſervation this is written.' Which begins thus:

'For your ſakes it is, O ye much pitied ones, 'more than for any weight in the Account itſelf, or 'worth in the authors of it, that I have thus taken 'notice of it. For indeed, as ſoon as I had peruſed 'it, I felt a compaſſionate concern ſpring in my heart 'on your behalfs, and a direction in ſpirit to open

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'ſome paſſages therein, and relating thereto, to you, 'that ye might be preſerved from being taken; or, if 'in any meaſure taken, might be reſcued and delivered 'from the ſnare, which the enemy of your ſouls, and 'of all righteouſneſs, hath made uſe of theſe men to 'ſet, to entangle, entrap, and catch you by. And 'to the true witneſs of the holy God, in every one 'of your conſciences, who retain any honeſt breath-'ings after the Lord, and the way of holineſs, do I 'recommend this my undertaking, and the ſincerity of 'my intention herein.' Wherein he diſcovered their deceit, as to their ſeparation; and that it was not for conſcience, but from a libertine ſpirit, to lay waſte the good order in the church, as their actions manifeſted: of which he gave ſome inſtances, not to their advantage. But their works have made them manifeſt.

The next book he publiſhed was in 1691, viz. 'A Reply to an Anſwer, lately publiſhed, to a Book 'long ſince written by W. Penn, intitled, A brief 'Examination and State of Liberty ſpiritual; both 'with reſpect to Perſons in their private Capacity, 'and in their Church Society and Converſation.' Which book was written, or at leaſt publiſhed by W. Penn, in the year 1681, to diſtinguiſh between true and falſe liberty, little underſtood by ſome, and too frequently abuſed by others: 'Liberty from Sin, not 'to ſin; to do his (God's) Will, and not our own;' as W. Penn expreſſes it. Which true ſpiritual liberty, being abuſed by ſome in the profeſſion of the truth,

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(as our friend T. Ellwood obſerves in his preface) 'who under pretence of being left to that liberty in 'themſelves, and to their own freedom therein, both 'took liberty to do ſuch things as were inconſiſtent 'with that true liberty, and with the principle of 'truth which they profeſſed; and deſpiſing thoſe uſe-'ful, good and neceſſary helps and means which the 'Lord hath provided, and furniſhed his church and 'people with, for the preventing and keeping out ſuch 'diſorders, evils, and ſcandals, as the unruly nature of 'man, through ſuch a miſtake of true liberty, might 'and would bring in; did reject the counſel, admo-'nition, or reproof of their brethren, with "What "haſt thou to do with me? Leave me to my own "freedom." To reclaim, if it might be, thoſe who 'are thus deceived, and prevent others from being ſo, 'the author being preſſed in ſpirit for Zion's ſake, and 'for the peace of Jeruſalem; and having a deep ſenſe '(as himſelf expreſſes) of the working of the enemy 'of Zion's peace, to rend and divide the heritage of 'God, did write the forementioned treatiſe for the 'eſtabliſhment of the faithful, information of the 'ſimple-hearted, and reproof of the arrogant and 'high-minded.' Which ſtriking at the falſe liberty and pretences of the ſeparate party, it ſeems it had lain on their ſtomachs undigeſted theſe ten years, and then came forth an anſwer to it by J. H. (ſuppoſed to be John Hogg, one of the ſeparates about Hull). This anſwer our friend T. Ellwood undertakes, and replies

to

to in a pretty large book; in which he ſhews what is meant by true ſpiritual liberty, in W. Penn's own definition, which he defends; ſhews their abuſe of it, anſwers their arguments, or rather cavils againſt it, in behalf of their falſe libertine ſpirit and practices, which too many ran into to their own hurt, and ſeparation from the church, the body of Chriſt, whereof He is head, ſaying in the preface, 'The God of 'truth knows, I have no other end in this reply, than 'to defend truth and the children of it, againſt the 'ſlanderous ſuggeſtions, falſe charges, and wicked 'inſinuation of the adverſaries; to lay open their 'deceitful dealing, and to remove (as the Lord ſhall 'enable me) the ſtumbling-blocks which they have 'laid in the way of the weak, whereby they have 'cauſed ſome to fall into miſapprehenſions and hard 'thoughts of friends, without cauſe. And I beſeech 'the God of mercy to open the underſtandings, and 'clear the ſight of all thoſe, whoſe ſimplicity has been 'betrayed by the others ſubtilty, that they may ſee 'and eſcape the enemy's ſnares, and return to the true 'fold, from which they have been led aſtray.' To which I never heard of any rejoinder; only ſome private letters paſſed between J. Hogg and T. Ellwood about ſome paſſages in it.

Our dear friend George Fox dying in the eleventh month, 1690, and leaving behind him an excellent journal of his travels and ſufferings, our friend T. Ellwood, (as no body fitter) about this time was at the

the pains of tranſcribing it, and fitting it for the preſs; (a laborious work) which was printed next year in a large folio: to which T. Ellwood prefixed a notable account concerning him, which is the only ſingle teſtimony printed with it, except his wife, M. Fox's, and an excellent preface by W. Penn.

But now a new ſcene opens. For George Keith, who had known better things than moſt oppoſers that ever roſe up againſt truth and friends, having been a Quaker, and a preacher among them near thirty years, and had wrote many books in vindication of truth and friends; but now falling out, and differing with ſome of his brethren in Pennſylvania (whither he went ſome years before) becauſe he could not have his own way in every thing, came over with ſome of his party, full fraught with contention, againſt the Yearly-meeting in 1694. Which difference coming before the meeting by ſome letters from beyond ſea, which were read in courſe in the meeting, whereupon G. Keith deſired to be heard; after the other buſineſs of the meeting was over, friends condeſcended for ſeveral days, to hear him and his party; and Samuel Jennings, &c. on the other ſide; in hopes to have reconciled the difference before it went any further: but as the prophet ſaid, "When I would have healed Iſrael, then the "iniquity of Ephraim was diſcovered," &c.* which may be applied to him; for the more endeavours were uſed to reconcile him to his brethren, the more his

* Hoſea vii. 1.

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deceit appeared; and the more tenderneſs any ſhewed towards him, the more perverſe he was in turning it to a wrong uſe, and ſtrengthening himſelf in his oppoſition. There was no holding what would away: (as the proverb is) reſolved he was for a breach, by oppoſing friends more and more, till he ran himſelf quite out from among them. Which our friend T. Ellwood obſerving the bent and tendency of, not only in the Yearly-meeting, but after; and how he endeavoured to make diviſions among friends, to divide the heritage of God, he took up his pen again, and writ an excellent Epiſtle to Friends; briefly commemorating the gracious dealings of the Lord with them, and warning them to beware of that ſpirit of contention and diviſion which hath appeared of late in George Keith, &c. which he addreſſes to friends thus:

'Dear friends, whom the Lord hath called with an 'holy calling, and who, through faithfulneſs to the 'heavenly call, are become the choſen of the Lord. 'It is in my heart, in the opénings of the love of 'God, to ſend theſe few lines among you, as a ſalu-'tation of true and hearty love unto you; and in the 'tendering ſenſe of the Lord's unſpeakable goodneſs 'unto us, which at this time reſts with an affecting 'weight upon my ſpirit, briefly to commemorate the 'gracious dealings of the Lord with us ſince we have 'been a people.' Which he commemorates as follows:

'Great

'Great and manifold have been the mercies of our 'God unto his people, in this his day, and his 'loving kindneſſes are beyond expreſſing: when we 'were young and little, his fatherly care was over 'us, He preſerved us and nouriſhed us, and cauſed 'us to grow up before him. How did He carry his 'lambs in his boſom, when the beaſts of prey roared 'on every ſide, ſeeking to devour! Who can rehearſe 'the many deliverances He hath wrought for his 'people, in their paſſage from ſpiritual Egypt! How 'hath he girded their loins with ſtrength, and covered 'their heads in the day of battle! How hath He ſub-'dued their enemies before them, and put to flight 'the armies of aliens! How hath he fed them with 'bread from heaven, and made them to ſuck honey 'out of the rock! Yea, He hath cauſed the rock to 'give forth water abundantly, and hath been to his 'people as a brook in the way, [and the ſhadow of a 'mighty rock in a weary land.] So that from a ſen-'ſible experience we can ſay, to his praiſe, Our 'bread hath been ſure, and our water hath not failed, 'as we have ſingly relied on Him. Oh! his good-'neſs is unutterable, and his faithfulneſs hath never 'failed them that have truſted in Him. When have 'we ever been in priſon for his ſake, and He hath 'not viſited and comforted us there? What ſufferings 'have any undergone on his account, and He hath 'not abundantly recompenſed the loſs? Nay, hath 'He not often ſtopped the mouths of lions, and re-

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'proved rulers for the ſake of His people, ſaying, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no "harm." In all our exerciſes He hath been with us, 'and He hath ſtood by us in our ſoreſt trials; yea, 'He hath cauſed his angel to encamp round about 'us, ſo that no weapon formed againſt us hath proſ-'pered; but every tongue that hath riſen up againſt 'us, the Lord hath given us power to condemn: 'Bleſſed be his holy name, and exalted and magni-'fied be his glorious power for ever.

'Theſe things, and much more than I can write, 'I doubt not but ye, my dear friends, are witneſſes 'of; ye eſpecially, my elder brethren, who were 'called early in the morning of this day, and have 'ſtood faithful in your teſtimony for God until now, 'who from your own both early and late experiences 'can ſet your ſeals to the truth hereof, and unto you 'I do believe this brief commemoration of the good-'neſs and loving-kindneſs of the Lord to his people, 'will be pleaſing and delightful, as I hope it may 'prove uſeful and profitable unto us all, in the ſtirring 'up of the pure mind, and putting us in freſh re-'membrance of the Lord's manifold favours towards 'us, and gracious dealings with us; which ſhould be 'as a renewed engagement upon us to cleave faſt 'unto the Lord, and in humility of heart, to walk 'cloſely with Him, both that we may, as far as in us 'lies, anſwer his great loving-kindneſs to us-ward, 'and receive from Him ſtill daily ſtrength and ability

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'to ſtand, and withſtand the aſſaults and temptations 'of the enemy, and eſcape his ſnares, wherewith he 'is, at this time, as buſy and induſtrious to betray, 'and draw aſide from the ſimplicity of the truth, as 'ever he was.

'For, friends, ye know we have a reſtleſs adverſary 'to watch againſt, and to war with; one that ſome-'times walks about as a roaring lion, ſeeking whom 'he may devour; and ſometimes creeps about as a 'ſubtil ſerpent, ſeeking whom he may betray; whom, 'in each appearance, it is our duty and intereſt to 'reſiſt, ſtedfaſt in the faith which overcomes. I need 'not recount unto you, my friends, the many winds 'and floods, ſtorms and tempeſts, of open and cruel 'perſecutions, which this roaring adverſary hath often 'raiſed, and cauſed to beat upon us, to have driven 'us, if poſſible, from off our foundation; ye cannot 'have forgotten it, nor that noble arm of the Lord, 'which was made bare for our preſervation, and by 'preſerving us againſt the moſt furious ſhocks, gave 'evidence even to the world, that we are that people 'whoſe houſe is founded and built upon the immove-'able rock Chriſt Jeſus. At this ſort of fighting the 'enemy hath been foiled; which hath made him ſhift 'his hand, and like a cunning hunter ſpread his nets, 'ſet his ſnares, lay his baits, to catch the ſimple and 'unwary ones. Thus wrought this ſubtil enemy in 'the early times of Chriſtianity, ſometimes ſtirring 'up the rulers, both Jews and Gentiles, to fall with

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'violent and bloody hands upon the little flock of 'Chriſt; and ſometimes in the intermiſſions of thoſe 'ſtorms, covering his hooks with the taking baits of 'pleaſure, profit, and preferment, catch ſome (perhaps 'of thoſe that had withſtood the ſtrongeſt ſtorm of 'outward perſecution) and made them inſtruments 'for himſelf to work by, to betray others. Such was 'Diotrephes of old, whoſe aſpiring mind, loving and 'ſeeking pre-eminence, laboured to make a ſchiſm in 'the church, prating againſt even the elders thereof 'with malicious words, &c. What miſchief the 'wicked one hath wrought in our day by ſuch ambi-'tious ſpirits, I need not recount, nor is it pleaſing 'to me to remember: ye know it, to your grief, as 'well as I. But this in all ſuch caſes is obſervable, that 'ſuch as have made diſturbances in the church, and 'have run into diviſions and ſeparations from friends, 'have framed to themſelves ſome ſpecious pretence 'or other, as the inducement to their undertaking, 'which they have induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, and 'varniſhed over with the faireſt colours they could, to 'allure and draw others to join with them,' &c.

This, with much more to the ſame purpoſe, which might be cited, I thought meet to mention of the mercies of the Lord to his people, and preſervation of them from the beginning, well worth the reading. Then recounting the wiles and workings of the enemy, in drawing ſome aſide from the ſimplicity of the truth, and ſtirring them up to make diviſions (on one-

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pretence or other) to disturb the peace of the church, and hinder the work of the Lord in the earth; as lately in the separates. So now being disappointed in that, he hath formed a new design in G. Keith; yet to shew the difference between the former and this, and consequently the confusion of their pretences, theirs relating to discipline, this to doctrine; they alledged that friends were gone too much from the inward to the outward; this, that friends were gone too much from the outward to the inward, &c. for our adversaries seldom agree in their charges. And so he goes on to examine and compare his books, published beyond sea, with those he writ here, as to the ground of the difference and separation; which he lays at his door, manifesting his deceitful pretences, falacies and self-contradictions; answering his cavils, and consulting his calumnies, that none might be deceived by him. Concluding, by way of application and warning to friends, to beware of the enemy's wiles; which I doubt not had a good effect as to many, in preserving them out of the enemy's snare, who were in danger of being staggered by him.

When our friend T. Ellwood had written this epistle, he went up to London with it, and presented it to the Second-day's Morning-meeting, where such books and writings of friends, as are intended for the press, used to be read and considered, and read it through in that meeting, and not one friend (though the meeting was pretty full) shewed any disunity

therewith, but approved it, and left it to him to publiſh it. And yet G. Keith pretended that it was printed in great diſunity, and againſt the mind of many friends, as though it was only approved and promoted by a party, &c. which I mention, to ſhew he ſtuck at nothing to make good his part.

Againſt this book of T. Ellwood's, G. Keith made a heavy complaint to friends to have it called in, as very injurious to him, (to his cauſe to be ſure) poor man! who had wrote ſo many books againſt friends, after he had wrote ſo many for them, and would not take friends advice himſelf; and how then could he expect they ſhould anſwer him? ſo that his complaint and clamour not prevailing to ſtifle it, he takes another way, firſt putting out a ſheet againſt it, called a Loving Epiſtle, but envious enough: in which he charged T. Ellwood with fifty perverſions, &c. which he ſaid he had noted in his book, but left his proofs behind to come after (the firſt by poſt, as the proverb is, the ſecond by Tom Long the carrier) in another book which he threatened to publiſh, if T. Ellwood's was not called in, and diſowned: which not prevailing neither, ſome weeks after he ſent forth his threatened book, miſcalled a Seaſonable Information, &c. but very unſeaſonable for himſelf, as to his reconciliation with friends; although he pretended he had rather lay down his natural life, or have his right hand cut off, than be diſunited or disjointed from them. This book he pretended to be an anſwer to T. Ellwood's epiſtle,

epiſtle, and to contain his proofs (ſuch as they were) of the charge he had publiſhed before. To both theſe our friend T. Ellwood replied this year (1694) in a book intitled, 'A further Diſcovery of that Spirit 'of Contention and Diviſion, which hath appeared of 'late in George Keith, &c. wherein his Cavils are 'anſwered, his Falſhood is laid open, and the Guilt 'and Blame of the Breach and Separation in America, '&c. are fixed faſter on him; written by way of 'Epiſtle, (as the former was) and recommended as a 'farther Warning to Friends;' which begins thus:

'Dear friends, who have received the truth in the 'love of it, and have kept your habitation therein, 'unto whom the truth is exceeding precious, and who 'deſire the proſperity thereof above all things; unto 'you is the ſalutation of my endeared love, in this 'bleſſed truth, in which the fellowſhip of the faithful 'ſtands. In this it is I deſire to know you, to be 'known by you, and to have fellowſhip with you; 'earneſtly breathing to the God of truth, the Father 'of ſpirits, that He would be pleaſed to pour forth 'more abundantly of his good ſpirit into all our 'hearts, and fill us with the bleſſed fruits thereof, 'that there may be no room for the enemy to enter, 'to break this holy fellowſhip; but that all, who 'profeſs to believe in the light, may ſo walk therein, 'that a clear ſight they may have thereby, and a true 'diſcerning between things that differ, and may be 'able to make a right judgment what is of God, and

'what is not; that ſo the deſign of that ſpirit (by 'whatſoever inſtrument it works) which would break 'or diſturb the churches peace, and caſt reproach 'upon the heritage of God, may be ſo diſcovered and 'laid open, that all may ſee and ſhun it. As this is 'the exerciſe and travail of my ſpirit, ſo it is the ſer-'vice I have been of late, and am at preſent engaged 'in. For, friends, it is not many months ſince I 'ſaluted you with an epiſtle, wherein my ſpirit was 'drawn forth, briefly to commemorate the gracious 'dealings of the Lord with his people; and, as in a 'general way, to remind you of the many attempts 'the enemy hath made by force and fraud, to hinder 'the work of God from going on; ſo more particu-'larly to warn you to beware of that ſpirit of con-'tention and diviſion, which hath appeared of late in 'George Keith, and ſome few others that join with 'him, who have made a ſeparation from friends in 'ſome parts of America. In writing that epiſtle I 'did not conſult fleſh and blood, neither had I an eye 'to my own eaſe and quiet, as outwardly (for I had 'no reaſon to expect reſt from ſo reſtleſs a man, nor 'fair treatment from one, who in his late writings 'and perſonal debates hath ſo notoriouſly let looſe his 'pen and tongue, to an unbridled liberty of railing 'and reviling) but I cleared my conſcience, in diſ-'charging my duty to God and to his church, and 'therein have that peace, which all his abuſes cannot 'diſturb.'

And

And ſo he proceeds to clear himſelf of the perverſions, &c. which G. Keith charged him with, and anſwers all his cavils againſt his book; manifeſting his deceit, evaſions, and ſophiſtry ſo effectually, that I do not find that G. Keith ever replied to it, being anſwered home, and having his belly full, I ſuppoſe, of the controverſy with T. Ellwood; for though our friend Thomas anſwered ſeveral other of G. Keith's books afterwards (of which hereafter) he never replied to any of them; which ſhews he had enough of it.

His next book is in 1695, intitled, 'Truth Defended, and the Friends thereof cleared from the falſe charges, foul reproaches, and envious cavils caſt upon it and them by George Keith (an apoſtate from them) in two books by him lately publiſhed; one called a true Copy of a Paper delivered into the Yearly-meeting, &c. the other the pretended Yearly-meeting's nameleſs Bull of Excommunication,' &c. In which laſt, G. Keith gives an account of his coming to the Yearly-meeting, (1695) and of his entertainment in it, (when admitted) as if he had never been there before, viz. "That he was "allowed to ſit at the great ſquare table among the "miniſters and commiſſioners, (as he calls them) that "could hold about it, either fully, or near double, to "the number of twenty-four;" whether by alluſion to the twenty-four ſeats and elders, mentioned Rev. iv. but doubling the number he doth not determine; adding, "I think it ſuits not their crying out ſo much

" as they were wont againſt chief ſeats in the ſyna-
" gogues, to erect ſuch a ſtately fabrick in their meet-
" ing-houſe at that time, little differing from the man-
" ner of a throne, but that it is low upon the floor,
" covered with green cloth." All which only ſerves to ſhew his own pageantry, and which our friend T. Ellwood corrects him for acccording to his deſerts. For the table will hold few more than twenty-four or twenty-eight at moſt, and only neceſſary to lay books and papers on to write.

In the beginning of this book, our friend T. Ellwood reſumes the controverſy from the beginning, ſhews the riſe of the difference, and proceedings thereupon, in relation to George Keith, particularly after his coming into England in the beginning of 1694, and how he came to be diſowned by the Yearly-meeting in 1695, for his rejecting the advice of the former, and oppoſite carriage thereunto; which being ſo excellent to the matter in hand, and ſetting the controverſy in a clear light, I ſhall here inſert it, which begins thus:

'It is an old obſervation, That none prove
'more angry and implacable enemies to any ſociety
'of people, than thoſe that for their diſorders and
'unruly behaviour, have been diſowned by the ſociety
'they once were of; a certain vindictive enmity uſually
'getting up in ſuch, and ſtirring them up to load that
'ſociety, by which they were denied, with all the
'reproach and infamy they can, thereby both gratify-
'ing

'ing a revengeful ſpirit in themſelves, and thinking 'alſo by recriminating others, to extenuate at leaſt 'their own crimes. That thus it was in the early 'times of Chriſtianity, may be gathered from the 'writings of the apoſtles, particularly 2 Tim. iv. 14. '2 Pet. ii. 1 John ii. 18, &c. 3 John 9, &c. 'Jude, verſe 4. Among thoſe in this age, whom 'Satan hath drawn to this degree of malice and 'madneſs, George Keith, a Scotchman, is the lateſt, 'but not the leaſt, whether with reſpect to his anger 'or his envy. He having been bred a ſcholar before 'he came amongſt the people called Quakers, and 'having acquired more of ſchool-learning than moſt '(it may be, in his own opinion, than any) of that 'people have, hath given in himſelf a demonſtrative 'proof of the apoſtle's propoſition, "Knowledge "puffeth up, where edifying charity is not joined "with it." * For human knowledge is apt of itſelf 'to lift up men's minds that have, or think they have 'it, in any degree of eminency, and makes them 'think better of themſelves than of others, or than 'themſelves deſerve; whereas true charity uſeth 'knowledge to inſtruct, and thereby builds up; not 'to puzzle and confound, and thereby deſtroy others. 'But that charity this man not having, but being 'vainly puffed up in his fleſhly mind, from a proud 'conceit of his own abilities, and being gotten into 'America among a plain people, who better under-

* 1 Cor. viii. 1.

ſtood the plain and ſimple truth than the nice diſtinctions and ſubtilties of the ſchools, and there advanced to the office of a ſchool-maſter, with a ſtanding ſalary, as I have been informed, of an hundred and twenty pounds by the year, he ſoon began, like Diotrephes of old, to affect pre-eminence in the church;* and nothing leſs would ſerve his turn, than to rule and over-rule all. And that he might not want matter to work upon, and ſome pretence to begin on, he not only found fault with friends miniſtry and diſcipline there; but having, in private diſcourſes, put ſome captious and enſnaring queſtions to ſome particular perſons there, whoſe ſimplicity he thought he might moſt eaſily betray, he (by wreſting their anſwers to a wrong ſenſe) took advantage to complain againſt them, for holding, as he ſaid, groſs and vile errors, and with impetuous heat proſecuted his charge; and not being ſo fully nor ſpeedily anſwered as he expected, by thoſe friends to whom he complained, who ſeeing the innocency of the accuſed, and his evil deſign in accuſing, could not countenance him therein, he involved them alſo in the like charge of cloaking or covering groſs and vile errors, damnable hereſies and doctrines of devils, &c. Nor gave he over, till by continual clamours, and frequent diſturbances, he had filled friends meetings with ſtrife and contention; and at length having leavened a party to him-

* 3 John ix. 10.

ſelf,

'ſelf, made an open diviſion and ſeparation from 'friends, ſetting up ſeparate meetings for himſelf and 'his party, in oppoſition to the meetings of friends 'before ſettled there. And having got the printer to 'his party, (and thereby the only preſs there at his 'command) he maliciouſly put the difference into 'print, and thereby ſpread it not only in thoſe parts 'of America, but in theſe of Europe alſo. Theſe 'things drew friends there, after much patience and 'long forbearance, to deal with him in a church-way, 'and to give forth at length a teſtimony againſt him; 'which proving uneaſy to him, he came over from 'thence to England, about the beginning of the year '1694, of which ſome friends of Pennſylvania having 'notice, came over alſo; and at the Yearly-meeting 'of the people called Quakers, holden at London in 'the fourth month that year, the matters relating to 'that difference being fully heard and conſidered, the 'ſenſe of that meeting was, That the ſeparation lay 'at G. Keith's door; and that he had done ill, in 'printing and publiſhing theſe differences as he had 'done. And the advice of the meeting to him there-'upon was, to call in thoſe books of his, or publiſh 'ſomething innocently and effectually to clear the body 'of the people called Quakers, and their miniſters, 'from thoſe groſs errors charged on ſome few in 'America; and retract the bitter language in them, 'ſo far as he was concerned; and ſincerely to uſe his 'utmoſt endeavours with his friends concerned, to

'remove the ſeparation, &c. Which ſenſe and advice 'being drawn up at large in writing, was then in 'that meeting delivered to him, and ſoon after printed 'by one of his party with very envious reflections 'upon it, as may be ſeen in a ſmall pamphlet, called 'A True Account, &c. to which I refer. But ſo 'far was G. Keith from regarding the ſenſe, or fol-'lowing the advice of that Yearly-meeting, that in 'ſeveral printed books by him ſoon after publiſhed, he 'rejected it, denying it to be the ſenſe or advice of 'the Yearly-meeting, or that to be the Yearly-'meeting that gave it. Which abuſe this laſt Yearly-'meeting (in the third month paſt) taking notice 'of, and upon further dealing with him, finding him 'inſtead of being humbled and ſorry for the evil he 'had done, more hardened therein, juſtifying himſelf 'both by word and writing, and rejecting the meet-'ing's advice. That meeting (after it had heard him 'patiently, till he of his own accord withdrew) gave 'forth a teſtimony againſt him; which he hath ſince 'printed, with his anſwer thereunto. As he hath alſo '(in another pamphlet) a copy of his paper which he 'read in the meeting; together with a narrative (of 'his own making) of the proceedings of the meeting 'with him, and a liſt of errors charged by him on 'ſome particular perſons. To each of theſe I intend 'to ſpeak, now that I have premiſed this ſhort intro-'duction; which I thought needful for the informa-'tion of any ſuch reader as had not before heard the

'riſe

'rise of the difference, nor the course of proceedings 'thereupon.'

This I thought fit to insert, being so material as to the ground of the controversy with G. Keith; after which T. Ellwood proceeds to answer all his cavils in his said two books or papers. And shews that by his disorderly practices he had excluded himself from our society, before friends disowned him. So leaving him without excuse, and the weight of his iniquity upon his own head, which he could never get from under, but waxed worse and worse, as evil men and seducers used to do, so that truth was set over his head, and friends were clear of him.

But now another occasion offered, and that was, one Gerard Croese, a Dutchman, publishing 'A 'General History (so called) of the Quakers, con-'taining the Lives, Tenets, Sufferings, Trials, 'Speeches, and Letters (as pretended) of the most 'eminent of them,' first in latin; which was translated and printed in English in the year 1696. Wherein, though he had represented some things pretty fairly, yet in others, through inadvertency or ignorance, (I hope not wilfully) he had misrepresented us, and our principles and practices; whereupon our friend T. Ellwood, according to an advertisement at the end of the said history in English, that some remarks on it would be published, he wrote some remarks on it in latin, (perhaps before the English came out, which would no doubt have been turned into English)

Engliſh) intending doubtleſs to publiſh them; but in the mean time before they were finiſhed, a book of the ſame nature and to the ſame purpoſe, in latin, was publiſhed in Holland, by way of remarks or obſervations on the ſaid hiſtory; which ſeemed again to circumvent him in his intended remarks on it, ſo that he laid them by, and never finiſhed them, and ſo the world was deprived of this piece alſo.

But now G. Keith being gone out from the fellowſhip of the faithful, and hardened in his enmity againſt friends, he arrived to the top or height of oppoſition; he had been playing ſmall ſtakes hitherto, but now came to throw all at once. In order to which he erected a ſtage of contention at Turner's-hall in Philpot-lane, London, (where he had held ſeparate meetings for ſome time before) to oppoſe friends in general, under pretence of diſcovering divers errors out of the Quaker's books (that were never in them) and publiſhed an advertiſement of a meeting he intended to hold there, in the fourth month, 1696, to diſcover the Quakers errors (though he had been one ſo long himſelf, and vindicated them, as to all that any could object againſt, and yet now came to accuſe them himſelf;) but friends ſlighted him, not thinking it worth their while to follow him, or dance after his pipe to Turner's-hall. Of which contentious meeting he afterwards publiſhed a narrative; which our friend T. Ellwood anſwered this year, in a book intitled, 'An Anſwer to George Keith's Narrative

'of

'of his Proceedings at Turner's-hall, &c. wherein his 'Charges againſt divers of the people called Quakers '(in that and another Book of his, called Groſs 'Errors, &c.) are fairly conſidered, examined, and 'refuted.' And he made his title good in a cloſe anſwer, and entire confutation of all his cavils againſt our friends books; which, becauſe I have given the preambles or introductions of his former, to illuſtrate the matter, I ſhall alſo, in like manner, introduce this with his general account of the controverſy, by way of introduction to his anſwer, being ſo pertinent to the caſe in hand, for the reader's better information and ſatisfaction, which follows, beginning thus:

'It is not ſurely without good reaſon, that the 'Church of Chriſt here on earth, is called the '*Church-militant:* for, beſides the inward and ſpiritual 'enemies, which her ſeveral members have to en-'counter with, in their pilgrimage through this 'troubleſome world, ſuch hath been and is her lot 'and portion, that ſhe hath rarely been free from 'outward enemies of one kind or other, her great 'adverſary Satan, continually raiſing up ſome evil 'inſtruments or other to fall upon her; all aiming at 'her ruin, though after divers ways and manners. 'Sometimes the civil powers under which ſhe hath 'lived, have been ſtirred up to proclaim as it were 'open war againſt her, and to inflict ſevere and heavy 'penalties upon her, for her faithful adherence to her 'Lord and Maſter, Chriſt Jeſus. When through

'faith

'faith and patience ſhe hath overcome, and the wrath
'and fury of men hath been aſſwaged, ſo that ſhe hath
'had ſome reſpite from thoſe outward ſufferings; then
'hath her old adverſary (the common enemy of man-
'kind) beſtirred himſelf in another way, to raiſe up
'perſecution againſt her of another kind, by inſti-
'gating ſome or other (either ſuch as were always
'avowed enemies to her, or ſuch as for ſome time
'appeared to be of her, but by the ſweep of his tail
'had been ſtruck off from her) to ſpeak or write
'againſt her, falſly to accuſe her, and load her with
'the fouleſt reproaches, and moſt infamous ſlanders
'and ſcandals, that by ſo miſrepreſenting her, they
'might hinder others from joining to or favouring
'her, and ſtir up the civil magiſtrate again to perſe-
'cute her afreſh. This hath been the lot, this the
'condition of the little flock of Chriſt in former ages,
'as Eccleſiaſtical hiſtories declare. As for the preſent
'age, and with reſpect to the people called Quakers,
'whom God by an inviſible arm of power hath raiſed
'up, and held up, and made a peculiar people to him-
'ſelf, experience gives ſufficient proof, the matter
'being yet freſh in memory. For, not to look back
'ſo far as that which was called the Common-
'wealth's time, wherein many of the leading men in
'moſt profeſſions, put forth their utmoſt ſtrength
'againſt us, both in preaching and printing, raiſing
'thoſe falſe reports concerning us, and charging
'many falſe accuſations upon us, with reſpect both to

'doctrine

'doctrine and practice, which others of our adver-
'ſaries that followed after, have taken up upon truſt
'from them; no ſooner was that great perſecution a
'little abated, (which ſoon after the reſtoration of
'king Charles the Second, through the fault of ſome
'Diſſenters fell upon all, but moſt heavily upon us)
'and that a little calm and quiet enſued, but out came
'ſeveral books againſt us, written by ſome of thoſe
'profeſſors, who either in ſome meaſure did ſuffer, or
'(if they had been faithful to their own principle)
'ſhould have ſuffered in the ſame ſtorm with us.
'By that time the duſt, which thoſe books had raiſed,
'was laid by our anſwers thereunto, a freſh perſecu-
'tion from the Government aroſe upon the Informing
'Act, the main weight of which it is well known fell
'upon us; they who before and afterwards aſſaulted
'us in print, finding ways then to hide and ſave them-
'ſelves from ſuffering. But when that ſtorm was a
'little over, out they came again, and in divers books
'written by Faldo, Hicks, and others, heaped up many
'wrong charges, defamations, ſlanders, and falſe accu-
'ſations againſt us; all which were refuted and wiped
'off in our books, printed in anſwer thereunto: nor
'have thoſe of other profeſſions been ſo forward to
'attack us ſince. But now that liberty of conſcience,
'in the free exerciſe of religious worſhip, is by au-
'thority granted, and thereby outward ſufferings, in
'a great meaſure abated, our old enemy envying us
'ſo great a benefit, though but in common with
'others,

'others, hath contrived ways and means to raiſe a 'new war againſt us, by ſtirring up ſome who have 'formerly walked with us, and for ſome time profeſſed 'to be of us, (but upon ſome peeviſh diſcontent or 'other, have turned aſide and left us) to turn now 'againſt us and oppoſe us, and to pour forth floods 'of reproach, ſlanders, and falſe accuſations upon us. 'His chief agent at preſent in this work, is George 'Keith, a Scotchman, whoſe ambitious aims not being 'anſwered, nor his abſurd and fantaſtical notions re-'ceived by and amongſt the people called Quakers, 'he is now become, of a ſeeming friend, a real 'enemy. He having publiſhed many books againſt 'us, and in defence of thoſe books wrangled with us 'for a while in print, till he found himſelf too cloſely 'pinched, to be able to give an anſwer fit to be ſeen 'in print, hath at length bethought himſelf of a wile 'to excuſe himſelf from anſwering; which was to ſet 'up a kind of judicial court, of his own head, and 'by his own authority, in a place at his own com-'mand, on a day of his own appointing, there to 'charge and try divers of us who are called Quakers, 'whether preſent or abſent, concerning matters of 'faith and doctrine; and that the rude multitude 'might not be wanting to his aſſiſtance there, he 'gave publick notice of it ſome time before, by an 'advertiſement in print, and therein a ſort of ſummons 'to ſome of us by name, to others by deſignation, to 'be preſent. This arbitrary proceeding, and uſurped

'authority,

'authority, as we judged it unreaſonable in him to 'impoſe, ſo we did not think fit to ſubmit to, or own, 'and therefore forbore to appear at that time and 'place by him appointed. Yet leſt any whom he 'ſhould draw thither, might miſtake the cauſe of our 'not appearing, the reaſons thereof drawn up in ſhort 'heads, were ſent thither to be read, and given among 'the people, which they were. However, according 'to his before declared intention, to proceed whether 'any of us were there or no, he being judge of his 'own court, over-ruled our reaſons, and went on to 'arraign and convict us abſent. The pageantry of 'which day's work, as acted there by himſelf, he hath 'ſince publiſhed with his name to it, under the title 'of "An exact Narrative of the Proceedings at "Turner's-hall, &c. Together with the Diſputes "and Speeches there, between G. Keith and other "Quakers, differing from him in ſome Religious "Principles." How idle is this in him, to pretend 'in his title to give an account of diſputes and 'ſpeeches between him and other Quakers, whenas 'his narrative itſelf gives no account of any diſpute 'there, nor any thing like it; and of that little that 'was ſaid by any of thoſe few Quakers that were 'preſent, moſt was to the people, tending to ſhew 'them the unreaſonableneſs of his undertaking, and 'deſiring them to reſerve one ear for the other ſide, 'very little of it to him.'

Then

Then he goes on to ſhew G. Keith's falſhood, in calling it 'An exact Narrative;' and yet not inſerting the reaſons why our friends did not appear, which he confeſſes were read; and his fallacies in evading them, which therefore T. Ellwood ſets down, obviates G. Keith's quibbles on them: ſo proceeds to anſwer his Narrative, clearing the quotations he brought out of our friends books, from his perverſions (being either unfairly or falſly quoted, or perverted in their ſenſe to what they never intended, according to his carping and cavilling way.) Vindicating the ſoundneſs of their doctrine, ſhewing G. Keith's ſelf-contradictions (in oppoſing what he had ſo often vindicated as orthodox; and yet pretending to hold the ſame doctrines and principles ſtill) and laying open his deceit, falſhood, and prevarications ſo plainly and effectually, that G. Keith never replied to it; and good reaſon why, becauſe he could not to the purpoſe, being anſwered home, and defeated in all his vile pretences, envious cavils, and falſe accuſations.

But being pinched and driven to a nonplus, by quotations out of his own books in favour of what he oppoſed, which he could not anſwer; wherein he had aſſerted or defended the ſame doctrines and principles, in as plain or higher words, which he now blamed friends for as groſs errors, &c. Which yet he would not allow to be ſo in himſelf, but palliated them under the ſoft term of miſtakes; ſaying, Narrative, page 15, "I know not any fundamental principle, nor indeed

"any

" any one principle of Chriſtian faith, that I have " varied from to this day, ever ſince I came among " the Quakers, which is about thirty-three years ago." And in his preface to his Narrative, page 6. he ſays, " The things" (he does not call them errors, nor hardly ever uſes the word error with reſpect to himſelf and his own writings) " that need correction in my " books, compared with the vile errors in theirs, are " but as my motes to their beams: — nor are they " ſuch things as oppoſe any Chriſtian principles of " faith; but of an inferior nature." [and yet they were as full in the points, as any he could cite out of ours.] And in " The true Copy of a Paper," printed 1694, where, in page 17 he faintly intimates a purpoſe to publiſh ſome ſhort explication, &c. of ſome words and paſſages in his former books, he adds, " For, upon a review of my former books, I " freely acknowledge, I have found ſome paſſages and " words, that not only need ſome farther explanation, " but even in ſome part an emendation and correc- " tion." ' How gently doth he touch himſelf: (ſays ' T. Ellwood) how ſoftly doth he handle his own ' ſores: not a ſyllable of errors or hereſy there; no, ' the hardeſt word he can afford to give them is, his ' former miſtakes.' And leſt the reader ſhould extend them too far, he explains it in the next page, ſaying, " Upon the moſt impartial ſearch I have made, I find " not any cauſe to correct either my judgment or " books, as touching any of the great doctrines and

" *principles*

" principles of the Chriſtian religion; nor do I know " that I am of another faith in any one principle of " Chriſtian doctrine, contrary to what I believed, " ever ſince I went under the profeſſion of a Quaker, " ſo called." With much more to the ſame purpoſe.

Thus partial was he as to himſelf, notwithſtanding his loud clamours and outcries of vile errors againſt the Quakers, for the ſame things he had held himſelf, which yet were no errors in him; ſuch a hypocrite was he to diſſemble with God and man. So that when he found his doctrines compared with what he accuſed friends of, and ſaw they were the ſame or parallel, it was to no purpoſe for him to go to vindicate or clear himſelf of what was ſo notorious: and therefore procured another, or at leaſt he undertook it for him, under diſguiſe of the Snake in the Graſs: and ſo to ſlide by the quotations out of his books, that lay in his way; which would have been a ſhame for G. Keith to do (a ſnake in the graſs indeed) pretending in his preface, that it was not meant as a defence of George Keith, any further than he defended the truth of the Chriſtian faith; for which reaſon (ſays he) I have wholly omitted all the perſonal reflections caſt upon him, and the contradictions which Thomas Ellwood pretends to find in his former books (while he was a Quaker of their communion) to the doctrine he now ſets up in oppoſition to them. And ſo gave the go-by to whatever pinched him, which was the deſign, as T. Ellwood obſerves, to help G. Keith off

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at a dead lift, from his manifold and manifeſt ſelf-contradictions, which it was impoſſible for him to reconcile or defend; and becauſe it had been as abſurd for him to have undertaken a reply to T. Ellwood's anſwer, and not have attempted to acquit himſelf of thoſe contradictions charged upon him therein, as it would have been impoſſible for him to have cleared himſelf of them. Therefore this contrivance was found out, that another (or perhaps he in a maſk, under the diſguiſe of another, for Satan, though diſrobed from his diſguiſe of light, has many black robes and dark diſguiſes to put on) ſhould undertake the taſk of replying (for a taſk it ſeems it was) upon ſuch a foot, and under ſuch circumſtances, as might give him ſome colourable pretence to wave the contradictions, and wholly to omit them, and with them, whatſoever elſe he found too hard to meddle with.

So that any one might plainly ſee this was a contrivance (as our friend T. Ellwood obſerves) to help G. Keith out at a dead lift. To which book of the Snake's, T. Ellwood wrote an anſwer, though he did not quite finiſh it, or publiſh it: of which, and that controverſy, he gives the following account:

'This controverſy, begun by George Keith (upon 'a pique he took againſt the people called Quakers; 'becauſe they could not anſwer his ambitious deſire 'of rule, nor receive ſome wild and fantaſtical notions 'of his) has been carried on by him in his own name, 'till he could go no further. The doctrines he con-

'demns

'demns us for as erroneous and heretical, have been 'either ſo clearly caſt off by us as ſlanders, or ſo 'rivetted on himſelf by undeniable inſtances and 'proofs taken out of his own books, that (having 'fore-cloſed his way to a retraction of them, as ſhall 'be ſhewed anon) he had no way left, but as his laſt 'ſhift, to ſhift the cauſe into another's hand; to carry 'it on under the diſguiſe of another perſon; which 'brought to my mind the fable of Achelous, who 'being too weak for his antagoniſt in fair force, was 'fain to ſhift from one ſhape to another; firſt to that 'of a ſnake, then to that of a bull; and is thereupon 'brought in by the Poet; ſaying,

Inferior Virtute, meas divertor ad Artes
Elaborque Viro, Longum formatus in Anguem, &c.
Metam. lib. 9. Fab. 1.

In ſtrength too weak, I to my wiles betake,
And ſlide from man into a twining ſnake.

'Somewhat a like crafty courſe has G. Keith taken; 'who finding himſelf over preſt the laſt year with 'books, which he knew not how to anſwer, got, as 'was ſuppoſed, an adjutant of his to publiſh a book 'againſt us under diſguiſe, without a name to it, and 'with the very title of "The Snake in the Graſs;" 'thereby to have diverted us from purſuing the con-'troverſy (then, and ſtill in hand) with him: but

'when

'when he found that would not do, (for the deſign 'was ſeen) he roared againſt us like a bull at Turner's-'hall, in the month called June 1696, and afterwards 'in his Narrative thereof: the anſwer to that, which 'ſoon followed, has it ſeems involved him in ſuch 'difficulties, that he hath not thought fit to 'appear againſt it in his own ſhape; but either 'aſſuming another perſon, or turning over his broken 'forces (with the united forces of the whole party) 'to the hiſſing author of the ſnake, they have amongſt 'them lately thruſt forth another book, as a reply to 'that anſwer of mine to G. Keith's Narrative: this '(without a name to it, and ſaid to be written by the 'author of the Snake in the Graſs) is called "Satan "Diſrobed from his Diſguiſe of Light." But the 'obſervant reader will find cauſe enough, I think, to 'conclude that whoever wrote it, was fully inrobed in 'Satan's over-guiſe and proper dreſs of darkneſs, 'from the many bitter and ſcornful invectives therein 'uſed againſt the light.'

And for the controverſy itſelf, he remarks,

'1. That the matters therein charged upon us, are 'generally the ſame that have been charged on us 'heretofore, by Faldo, Hicks, and other adverſaries; 'and always refuted over and over, both formerly 'and of late.

'2. That the things they charge on us as errors 'and hereſy, are not pretended to be proved by any

'plain

'plain expreſs poſitions or aſſertions of ours; but 'from our adverſaries own perverſe meanings, and 'wreſted conſtructions of our words; always denied 'and rejected by us.

'3. That the words and paſſages brought by our 'adverſaries for proof of their charges againſt us, 'are not taken out of our doctrinal treatiſes, or de-'clarations of faith and principles; but (for the moſt 'part) out of controverſial books; wherein, oft-times, 'the ſcope and aim of the author is not ſo much to 'aſſert or expreſs his own principles or doctrines, as 'to impugn and expoſe his adverſaries, by ſhewing 'the contradictions, abſurdities, and ill conſequences 'of his adverſaries opinions; from whence, poſitively 'to conclude the author's own judgment, is neither 'ſafe nor fair.

'4. That however any of our former adverſaries 'might have been miſled in their judgments concern-'ing us, G. Keith who hath now moved this contro-'verſy againſt us, knows full well, that we do not 'hold thoſe things either generally as a people, or as 'particular perſons, which he has charged on us as 'errors. As a people he has clearly acquitted us from 'them, in his preface to his Narrative, page 6. where 'he ſays, "I charge them not, either upon the ge-"nerality, far leſs upon the univerſality of all them "called Quakers." For particular perſons, hear what 'he ſays of George Whitehead, one of the principal 'butts he ſhoots at, Narrative page 16. where having

'charged

'charged him with denying that Chriſt in heaven has 'any bodily exiſtence without us, being conſcious that 'G. Whitehead did not ſo hold, but that he had 'therein abuſed him, he immediately adds, "If he "(G. Whitehead) has ſaid otherwiſe in any of his late "printed books, I am glad of it." And a line lower, "There is a G. Whitehead orthodox, and a "G. Whitehead not orthodox. He is—in this and "ſome other things, orthodox and not orthodox:" 'and a little further, "I own it, that I have cited "divers paſſages out of his later books that are "orthodox, to prove him ſound." What can be 'made of all this, but that G. Whitehead was 'orthodox and ſound in his own both intentions and 'expreſſions; not orthodox in G. Keith's perverſe 'and falſe conſtructions? And whereas he harps 'upon the word later books, thereby to inſinuate as 'if G. Whitehead had of late altered his judgment; 'he has cut off that alſo in his Narrative, page 38, 'where he gives an account, That in the year 1678, '(which is eighteen years ago) ſome, whom he would 'not name, queſtioning him about ſome principles in 'a book of his, both G. Whitehead and W. Penn 'took part with him againſt them, though thoſe prin-'ciples (as he calls them) which he ſays he was then 'queſtioned about, were of the ſame nature with 'ſome of thoſe he now charges upon them as errors. 'From whence it appears, that he found them then,

'as well as now, ſound and orthodox in thoſe 'principles.

'5. That as this controverſy lies properly and 'directly between G. Keith and us, and that he 'being baffled in it, and driven to a *Ne plus ultra* on 'his own part, hath contrived to carry it on under 'diſguiſe, by the aſſiſtance of another, (yet without a 'name) who under pretence of indifferency, and being 'unconcerned with or for G. Keith, ſhould drop the 'quotations I had loaded him with, out of his own 'books againſt himſelf, and thereby free him, if he 'could, from thoſe pinching dilemmas which lay 'againſt him, and draw Dun (as the proverb ſpeaks) 'out of the mire he was plunged into; ſo to obviate 'and diſappoint the deſign. That I may not ſuffer 'myſelf to be bubbled by ſuch artificial ſhams, but 'that the controverſy may be kept, as much as may 'be, upon its firſt bottom, I have thought fit in this 'Rejoinder ſo to order the matter, as not to let G. 'Keith ſlip away (which I perceive he would fain do) 'while I am contending with I know not whom in 'this quarrel. Therefore as I paſs through the 'ſeveral heads of the controverſy, I purpoſe not only 'to anſwer the moſt material cavils of the preſent 'adverſary, but withal to repeat (ſome at leaſt of) 'thoſe paſſages that lay ſo heavy upon G. Keith, and 'ſettle (not to uſe his own ſmithing metaphors of 'clinching and rivetting) them faſter on him; to the 'end that both the reader may more plainly ſee the

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'true reaſon why G. Keith did not himſelf reply in 'his own name, to my anſwer to his Narrative, and 'G. Keith may know that I expect it from him, and 'in the mean time look upon him but as a baffled 'ſhifting adverſary.

'He begins his epiſtle with telling his reader, that "his reply is ſhort in compariſon of the anſwer." 'Therein he and I agree, but in words rather than 'in meaning; for he means in number of pages, I 'mean in truth and fair dealing, in which I am con-'fident the indifferent reader will find his reply ſhort 'indeed: and even as to bulk, upon due conſideration, 'the diſproportion is not ſo great as he would repreſent 'it, for his book is rather more than half as big as 'mine, though he replies not to the tenth part of the 'matter contained in mine. He makes nothing of 'ſkipping over ten or fifteen pages at a time, ſo 'nimble heeled he is.' [And yet this is the man that cautioned the Quakers, that "if they anſwered his "book (Snake, third edition, page 344) that they "would reply diſtinctly, —and not anſwer a book as "rats do, by nibbling at ſome corners of the leaves, "ſtealing through it like moths, to no other purpoſe "than to deface ſome words at a venture;" who yet could reply thus ſlightly himſelf] 'Nay, in his firſt 'page he throws off no leſs than twenty-five pages at 'once, and barely mentioning, in leſs than nine lines, 'a few words contained in ſome of them, without a 'ſyllable of reply thereto, ſets in his margin, "Reply

'to the firſt twenty-three pages;" and yet he hath 'the confidence to miſcall his book, and that even in 'the ſame page, "A full Reply" (he might better 'have called it a foul and falſe reply) "to T. "Ellwood's Anſwer." And in his Epiſtle ſays, "he has omitted nothing that is material." I ſuppoſe 'he means, that he has omitted nothing which he thought might tend to abuſe and defame the Quakers 'and me; for that he has omitted the moſt material 'parts of my book, and thruſt in many paſſages idle, 'impertinent, falſe, and wholly foreign to the ſubject, 'only that he might miſrepreſent, ridicule, and ſlander 'us, I ſhall have occaſion hereafter, by plenty of 'inſtances to ſhew.'

Some angry prieſts in Norfolk, on our friends having a meeting near one of them, and truth ſpreading to their regret, they challenged a diſpute with ſome of our friends at Weſt Deerham, in that county, the 8th of the tenth month, 1698, where ſome of our friends appearing and anſwering them, ſo diſappointed the prieſts in their envions deſigns in the ſaid diſpute, that they afterwards promoted two petitions againſt our friends to the Parliament, (one from Norfolk, the other from Suffolk) to ſtir up perſecution againſt them, that what they could not do by arguments, they might by force. To which two petitions, our friend T. Ellwood (having obtained copies of them) wrote "A ſober Reply on Behalf of the People "called Quakers, to two Petitions againſt them (the

"one

" one out of Norfolk, and the other from Bury in " Suffolk) being ſome brief obſervations upon them," &c. printed 1699, manifeſting their miſchievous machinations againſt the truth and friends; which, with ſome other diſcouragements, through the labour and induſtry of friends at London, in attending the Parliament, and delivering printed papers, particularly, " A few Conſiderations humbly offered to the mem- " bers of Parliament, to obviate ſome evil Jealouſies " and Deſigns againſt the People called Quakers," ſo quaſhed their malicious purpoſes, that their petitions were never delivered to, or received by the parliament, but fell and came to nothing, and their evil deſigns were fruſtrated, friends were preſerved, and truth proſpered over their heads.

About this time alſo, our friend William Penn being gone to Pennſylvania (in the ſeventh month of this year, 1699) and G. Keith continuing his oppoſition againſt truth and friends, ſometimes more general at Turner's-hall, where, as the courſe of his delirious diſtemper returned (as Joſeph Wyeth obſerves, in his anſwer to his advertiſement this year) he held his contentious meetings once a year, to pick paſſages out of our friends books to cavil at (though he could not anſwer nor clear himſelf of T. Ellwood's or others that were wrote againſt him) and ſometimes more particularly againſt ſingle perſons, eſpecially William Penn, againſt whom he choſe to vent his malice above moſt others, eſpecially now in his

abſence, making him the butt of his indignation; and publiſhed two books againſt him, one called "The Deiſm of William Penn and his Brethren," &c. This our friend T. Ellwood undertook to anſwer, and made a conſiderable progreſs in it, in a large book of between thirty and forty ſheets, which I ſhall cite ſome of, beginning thus:

'We read of one in former times, who becauſe 'he had given up himſelf to do evil, was ſaid to 'have "ſold himſelf to work wickedneſs in the ſight "of the Lord," 1 Kings xxi. 20, and 25. Whether 'George Keith hath directly ſold himſelf, or only let 'himſelf out to hire, I will not undertake to deter-'mine; but evident it is, that ſince he crept into the 'intereſt of that which is called the Church of Eng-'land, and become a mercenary hackney to ſome of 'the clergy, he hath laid out himſelf, with his utmoſt 'vigour, to work wickedneſs, not only in the ſight 'of the Lord, but in the ſight of the ſun; aſſerting, 'defending, maintaining, and upholding divers both 'doctrines and practices in religion, which upon a 'declared full conviction, and from a profeſſed aſſur-'ance of Divine openings, and immediate guidance 'of the Holy Spirit, he had before not only renounced, 'but declared and written againſt as falſe, ſuperſti-'tious, (if not idolatrous) and anti-chriſtian; and to 'fill up his meaſure of iniquity, and heap it up that 'it might run over, he hath not only (to gratify his 'ſupporters) ſhot his unadviſed bolts at the ſeveral

'other

'other bodies of Proteſtant Diſſenters, but in an 'eſpecial manner (and in a moſt virulent, and to him 'peculiar ſtile) hath evomitted floods, not of reproach 'only and bitter revilings, but of the moſt malicious 'ſlanders and falſhoods, that ever perhaps were poured 'from the pulpit, or ſqueezed through the preſs againſt 'the people called Quakers, whom once he owned for 'his brethren, and with whom he profeſſed to hold 'communion for more than thirty years. Herein he 'hath exceeded good Joſeph of old in his liberality, 'but in another kind: that good man beſtowed a 'five-fold meſs of his good things on his brother 'Benjamin, as a token of his peculiar and abundant 'love to him. This bad man has beſtowed double 'and treble that proportion of his evil things on us: 'the effect of his peculiar and ſuperabundant hatred 'to us, to ſay nothing here of his railing rhetorick 'and bitter invectives againſt us, wherewith he hath 'prophaned the pulpit, which lie under the juſt cen-'ſure of the more diſcreet and well-minded of his 'auditors. An inſtance of his malice and injuſtice 'from the preſs, is a late book of his now lying 'before me, called "The Deiſm of William Penn "and his Brethren, deſtructive to the Chriſtian Re-"ligion, expoſed," &c. The word [Deiſm] being 'ſomewhat an uncommon term, may not perhaps be 'readily underſtood by every reader. As it has been 'oppoſed to Atheiſm, it has been taken in a good 'ſenſe; but as it is now uſed, it is taken in an ill

'ſenſe, as importing an acknowledgment or owning 'of God only, or of the Godhead; but not of Chriſt, 'with reſpect to his incarnation, or being manifeſt in 'the fleſh for the redemption of man': ſo that to charge 'any one now with Deiſm, is to charge him with 'denying that Chriſt is come, and hath ſuffered in 'the fleſh. Now herein G. Keith's both injuſtice 'and malice is the greater, in charging W. Penn, 'and his brethren the Quakers, with Deiſm; inaſ-'much as he aſſuredly knows (which ſome other adver-'ſaries have not had the like opportunity to know, as 'he hath had) by certain experience, drawn by ſo 'many years intimate converſation with W. Penn 'and the Quakers, in free and familiar conferences, 'and in reading their books, that W. Penn and the 'Quakers, both in word and writing, publickly and 'privately, have always, and on all occaſions confeſſed, 'acknowledged, owned as well as believed, the incar-'nation of Chriſt, according to the holy Scriptures, 'viz. That the word was made fleſh.* That when 'the fulneſs of time was come, God ſent forth his 'Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to 'redeem them that were under the law.† That 'Chriſt Jeſus being in the form of God, and thinking 'it no robbery to be equal with God, made himſelf 'of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a 'ſervant, and was made in the likeneſs of men; and 'being found in faſhion as a man, he humbled him-

* John i. 14. † Gal. iv. 4, 5.

'ſelf,

'ſelf, and became obedient unto death, even the 'death of the croſs.(*a*) Chriſt died for our ſins, ac-'cording to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, 'and that he roſe again the third day, according to 'the ſcriptures.(*b*) That he was delivered for our 'offences, and raiſed again for our juſtification.(*c*) 'That he is the propitiation for our ſins; and not for 'ours only, but for the ſins of the whole world.(*d*) 'That he aſcended up far above all heavens, that he 'might fill all things.(*e*) That he is one mediator 'between God and men.(*f*) That he is at the right 'hand of God, and maketh interceſſion for us.(*g*) 'And is our advocate with the Father.(*h*) And that 'it is he which was ordained of God, to be the judge 'of quick and dead (*i*)——Theſe things, I ſay, G. 'Keith certainly knows have been conſtantly held, 'believed, profeſſed, and owned by W. Penn and his 'brethren the Quakers in general, both privately and 'publickly, in word and writing. Theſe things are 'ſo often teſtified of in our meetings, and have been 'ſo fully and plainly aſſerted and held forth in our 'books, that we might call in almoſt as many wit-'neſſes thereof, as have frequented our meetings, or 'attentively read our books.

'The book of W. Penn's, called, "A Diſcourſe "of the general Rule of Faith and Life." (To

(*a*) Phil. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8. (*b*) 1 Corinth. xv. 3, 4. (*c*) Romans iv. 25. (*d*) 1 John ii. 2. (*e*) Epheſians iv. 10. (*f*) 1 Timothy ii. 5. (*g*) Romans viii. 34. (*h*) 1 John ii. 1. (*i*) Acts x. 42.

'which G. Keith's Deiſm is an anſwer). G. Keith 'tells us in his preface, was firſt printed in the year '1673, as an appendix to W. Penn's part of the 'Chriſtian Quaker. (A folio book in two parts; 'the former written by W. Penn, the latter by G. 'Whitehead.) In that former part of the Chriſtian 'Quaker, written by W. Penn, though the tendency 'of it is to aſſert and defend the Divinity of Chriſt, 'and his ſpiritual appearance by his divine light in 'the hearts of men; yet there is enough ſaid con-'cerning his manhood, his outward appearance, and 'his ſufferings in the fleſh, to free W. Penn from 'the imputation or ſuſpicion of Deiſm.—In page '101, W. Penn ſays, notwithſtanding the ſame light 'and life, with that which afterwards cloathed itſelf 'with that outward body, did in meaſure inwardly 'appear for the ſalvation of the ſouls of men; yet as 'I have often ſaid, never did that life ſo eminently put 'forth itſelf to that end, as in that ſanctified and pre-'pared body; ſo that what he then ſuffered and did, 'in that tranſcendent manifeſtation, may, by way of 'eminency, aſſume the whole work unto itſelf, that 'he ever did before, or might do afterwards.—Page '102. His righteous life, with reſpect to its appearance 'in that body, was grieved by ſin, and the weight of 'the iniquity of the whole world, with the concern-'ment of its eternal well-being, lay hard upon Him; 'nor was his manhood inſenſible of it, under the load 'of this did he travail: He alone trod the wine-preſs,

'&c.—Not

'&c.—Not that he would irreverently rob the holy 'body of whatſoever acknowledgment is juſtly due; 'nor yet ſeparate what God joined.—Page 104, Chap. '21. A confeſſion in particular to Chriſt's redemp-'tion, remiſſion, juſtification, and ſalvation,—which 'was actually to the ſalvation of ſome, and inten-'tionally of the whole world.—As there was a ne-'ceſſity that one ſhould die for the people, ſo whoever 'then, or ſince believed in him, had and have a ſeal 'or confirmation of the remiſſion of their ſins, in his 'blood.—This grand aſſurance of remiſſion do all 'receive, in the ratifying blood of Chriſt, who re-'penting of their ſins, believe and obey the holy 'light, with which he hath illuminated them.—'Page 107. But there is yet a further benefit that 'accrueth by the blood of Chriſt, viz. That Chriſt is 'a propitiation and redemption to ſuch as have faith 'in it: for though I ſtill place the ſtreſs of particular 'benefit upon the light, life, and ſpirit revealed and 'witneſſed in every particular; yet in that general 'appearance, there was a general benefit, juſtly to be 'attributed to the blood of that very body of Chriſt; '(to wit) that it did propitiate: for however it might 'draw ſtupendious judgments upon the heads of thoſe 'who were authors of that diſmal tragedy, and died 'impenitent, yet doubtleſs, it thus far turned to very 'great account, in that it was a moſt precious offer-'ing in the ſight of the Lord, and drew God's love 'the more eminently to mankind; at leaſt ſuch as

'ſhould believe in his name.—Page 108. Doubtleſs 'it did greatly influence to ſome ſingular tenderneſs 'and peculiar regard unto all ſuch as ſhould believe 'in his name, among other his weighty performances: 'for the ſake of that laſt, and greateſt of all his 'external acts, the reſiſting unto blood, for the ſpi-'ritual good of the world, thereby offering his life 'upon the croſs, through the power of the eternal 'ſpirit, that remiſſion of ſin, God's bounty to the 'world, might be preached in his name, and in his 'very blood too, as that which was the moſt ratifying 'of all his bodily ſufferings. And indeed, therefore 'might it ſeem meet to the Holy Ghoſt, that redemp-'tion, propitiation, and remiſſion ſhould be declared, 'and held forth in the blood of Chriſt, unto all that 'have a right faith therein; as ſaith the apoſtle to the 'Romans;—becauſe it implies a firm belief, that 'Chriſt was come in the fleſh, and that none could 'then have him as their propitiation and redemption, 'who withſtood the acknowledgment of, and belief 'in his viſible appearance.—Page 110. Faith in his 'blood was requiſite, that they might confeſs him, 'whoſe body and blood it was, to be Chriſt.—To 'conclude. We confeſs, he who then appeared, was 'and is the propitiation, &c. and in him was redemp-'tion obtained by all thoſe, who had ſuch true faith in 'his blood.

'Thus much (and much more which I have 'omitted) againſt Deiſm, in that very treatiſe of W. 'Penn's,

'Penn's, to which the book out of which G. Keith, 'by his art of counterfeit chymiſtry would extract 'Deiſm, was an appendix; and yet this was not the 'direct ſubject of that treatiſe, but only touched on 'occaſionally or by the bye: Should I gather up all 'quotations on this argument out of our other books, 'ſuch eſpecially as have more directly handled this 'ſubject, I might therewith fill a large volume: to 'prevent which, I refer the reader to my anſwer to 'G. Keith's firſt Narrative of his proceedings at 'Turner's Hall, from page 33 to 63, where he may 'find this cavil fully confuted. Which anſwer to his 'firſt Narrative, may ſerve for an anſwer to his other 'following Narratives alſo, they for the moſt part 'being but the ſcraps of his firſt heated again, and 'ſerved up afreſh with ſome new garniſh.

'It is obſervable, that that book called "A Diſcourſe "of the general Rule of Faith and Life," was firſt 'printed (as G. Keith in his Preface to his Deiſm 'takes notice) in the year 1673, which is twenty-'ſeven years ago, and about twenty years before he 'quite left us; it appears he had read it in the firſt 'impreſſion; for making as if when he ſaw the laſt 'impreſſion, he did not know but that it was a new 'book, "So little had I read or conſidered the con-"tents of it." Both read it then it ſeems he had, and 'conſidered the contents of it, and though here he 'would ſuggeſt he had but ſlightly read it, yet he 'would not be taken for an heedleſs reader, or

'ſuperficial

'ſuperficial conſiderer of what he reads. Now ſince 'he held the ſame doctrine, with reſpect to the 'general rule of faith and life, which is laid down by 'W. Penn in that diſcourſe, during the time he was 'amongſt us, and profeſſed himſelf one of us, as well 'after the publiſhing of that book in the year 1673, 'as before; and did not only openly defend and 'maintain that doctrine in publick diſputations, both 'in England and in Scotland, after the year 1673, 'but no longer ago than in the year 1692, nine-'teen years after that book of W. Penn's (called 'A Diſcourſe of the General Rule of Faith and Life) 'was in print, G. Keith in his ſerious appeal, page '7, ſays, "According to the beſt knowledge I have "of the people called Quakers, and thoſe moſt gene-"rally owned by them, as preachers and publiſhers of "their faith, of unqueſtioned eſteem among them, "and worthy of double honour (as many ſuch there "are) I know none that are guilty of any one ſuch "hereſies and blaſphemies as thou accuſeſt them: "and I think I ſhould know, and do know theſe "called Quakers, better than C. Mather (againſt "whom he then wrote) or any of his brethren; "having been converſant with them, in publick "meetings, as well as in private diſcourſe, with the "moſt noted and eſteemed among them, for above "twenty-eight years paſt, and that in many places of "the world, in Europe, and for theſe divers years in "America." I ſay, all this conſidered, how will G. 'Keith (upon the charges he now makes againſt W.

'Penn)

'Penn) acquit himſelf from having been a profeſt
'Deiſt, all the while he was among the Quakers?
'Yet he himſelf well knows, that neither he, nor W.
'Penn, nor any of the Quakers, ever were Deiſts;
'ever did deny, diſown, or diſbelieve the coming,
'incarnation, ſufferings, and death of Chriſt, as man
'outwardly in the fleſh, his reſurrection, aſcenſion,
'and mediatorſhip; and he himſelf has undeſignedly
'acquitted W. Penn from his preſent charge of
'Deiſm, by a ſtory he told in his firſt Narrative,
'page 38, That upon ſome urging him to give an
'inſtance of one Engliſh Quaker that he ever heard
'pray to Chriſt: W. Penn being preſent, ſaid, "I
"am an Engliſhman, and a Quaker, and I own I
"have often prayed to Chriſt Jeſus; even him that
"was crucified." This, he ſays, was in the year
'1678: which was five years after the publiſhing of
'that book, from which he attempts to prove him a
'Deiſt; that is, a denier of the man Chriſt Jeſus,
'who was crucified. Judge now, reader, how rank
'the malice of G. Keith muſt needs be againſt W.
'Penn, and his brethren the Quakers, who would
'chuſe to ſubject himſelf with them, to the foul im-
'putation of Deiſm (though in his own conſcience,
'he knows the charge is falſe on them, as well as on
'himſelf) rather than not gratify his envy and revenge
'upon them: in this reſembling the envious man in
'the Apologue, who deſired that he might loſe one of
'his

'his eyes, on condition his neighbour might loſe 'both his.'

Whence th' obſervation roſe, a wicked will
Would wound itſelf, to work another's ill.

But before he had finiſhed this anſwer, (though he had gone about two-thirds through it) Benjamin Coole, of Briſtol, publiſhed a book there, intitled, "Honeſty the trueſt Policy; ſhewing the Sophiſtry, "Envy, and Perverſion of George Keith, in his "three books, (viz.) his Briſtol Quakeriſm, Briſtol "Narrative, and his Deiſm." On peruſal of which, viz. his Anſwer to G. Keith's Deiſm, &c. T. Ellwood wrote the following verſes:

INDEED,

INDEED, is then the work by me begun,
And which I labour'd at with ſuch good will,
Already, by a readier workman done,
Who nimbleneſs hath added to his ſkill!
Well may it thrive, ſucceſsful may it prove,
Truth's way to clear, and ſtumbling-blocks remove!

I never was ambitious to appear
In print, nor to myſelf applauſe have ſought,
With ſatisfaction therefore, I can bear
What thou deſign'ſt, another hand hath wrought;
This ſupercedes my work. I'm glad to ſee
Such help come in, that there's no need of me.

This is the third time, I have thus been put
Beſides my work, which makes me think my (friend)
The controverſial door to me is ſhut,
And of my ſcribbling ſervice there's an end.
If ſo, content, I can with pleaſure ſee
The work well done, although not done by me.

The 17th of the Eleventh Month, 1700. T. ELLWOOD.

Of the times he was put beſides his work, he ſays, this was the third; the other two, I ſuppoſe, were his Remarks on Gerrard Croeſe's Hiſtory of the Quakers, and his anſwer to the Snake in the Graſs his book called Satan Diſrobed: both before mentioned.

His next ſervice, upon a general foot, which I find any footſteps of, was on this occaſion: One John Shockling, a prieſt of Aſh near Sandwich in Kent, having got ſome of the Snake's books, ſet up for an oppoſer or diſputant about Water-baptiſm, and ſends a paper to John Love, called, "A Queſtion upon "thoſe words in Matthew, xxviii. 19. Go ye there-"fore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the "name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the "Holy Ghoſt. Whether the apoſtles were not "commanded by them to baptize with water?" This paper and queſtion our friend T. Ellwood anſwered in the fourth month, 1701, very much to the purpoſe. To which the prieſt being unwilling to take an anſwer, and let it drop ſo, replying (I might ſay to little purpoſe) T. Ellwood wrote a Rejoinder, in the fourth month, 1702. Both which Anſwer and Rejoinder, being very pertinent to the purpoſe, and notable on that ſubject, I ſhould inſert ſome part of it, but that it was only private, and never publiſhed that I know of; and therefore I would not begin to be the firſt publiſher thereof.

But now we come to his great work of the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, which, at his leiſure, he had in

in hand for ſome years; and both he and we had this advantage of his being put by his work in anſwering adverſaries, particularly that of the Snake, and G. Keith's Deiſm, (having now ſeemed to have done with controverſy) that he had the more time and leiſure to proſecute this more excellent work; which having finiſhed in 1704, he brought it up to London to ſhew it to friends, for their peruſal and approbation. Which being done, it was publiſhed in folio the next year, 1705, under the title of "Sacred Hiſtory; or "the Hiſtorical Part of the Holy Scriptures of the "Old Teſtament, gathered out from the other "parts thereof, and digeſted (as near as well could "be) into due Method, with reſpect to Order of "Time and Place: With ſome Obſervations here "and there, tending to illuſtrate ſome Paſſages "therein." In his preface to which, having mentioned the praiſe of hiſtory out of Cicero, viz. That it is "the Witneſs of Times, the Light of Truth, "the Life of Memory," &c. which he thinks cannot be ſo well verified of any particular hiſtory, as of that which, being written by divinely-inſpired penmen, is contained in the books of the Old and New Teſtament. Then ſpeaking of the motive or inducement to the undertaking, two things (he ſays) more eſpecially led him to it: one, that the Divine Providence, the Wiſdom, Power, Goodneſs, and Favour of God, in ordering, diſpoſing, providing for, preſerving, defending, and wonderfully delivering his ſervants

and

and people out of the greateſt ſtraits, difficulties, hardſhips, dangers, and ſufferings, being more directly, and in a continued ſeries and courſe of actions ſet before the reader's eye, he might be thereby the more ſtirred up, and engaged to admire and magnify, to love, reverence, and fear the Lord, and be the more careful not to offend him. The other motive was, that all, the youth eſpecially of either ſex, under whatſoever religious denomination they go, might be furniſhed with ſuch an entertainment, to ſpend (at leaſt) their leiſure hours upon, as might yield them at once both profit and delight. After which he proceeds to ſpeak of the manner of performance under eight heads; the ſubſtance of which are,

1. That in digeſting the following hiſtory, he hath not ſtrictly tied himſelf to the letter and very ſyllables of the text; but with all due circumſpection and care to retain the matter and ſenſe, hath ſometimes varied the expreſſions, &c.

2. Where he hath left the laſt Engliſh tranſlation of the BIBLE, he hath followed for the moſt part ſome other Engliſh or Latin; or the judgment of ſome eminently learned expoſitors.

3. As to the Chronology (eſpecially with reſpect to the times of the judges and kings of Iſrael and Judah) he found ſo much uncertainty, and ſo little certainty

certainty or agreement amongſt interpreters about it, that he had a mind to have it left out; but at the deſire of ſome he added it in the margin; wherein for the moſt part he followed R. Blome's Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament.

4. The few helps (he ſays) he had, were chiefly from Dr. Gell's Eſſay towards an Amendment of the laſt Engliſh Tranſlation of the Bible. Hugh Broughton's Conſent of Scripture. Godwin's Moſes and Aaron. The Annotations of Tremelius and Junius. And for names of perſons and places, the tables of Robert F. Herry.

5. The whole work is divided into three parts, without any particular regard had to the ſeven periods of time, into which chronologers and hiſtoriographers, out of a deſire to reduce them to ſome ſort of proportion with the ſix days work and ſeventh day's reſt, in the firſt week of the creation, having generally divided the ages of the world, from Adam until now.

6. Of theſe three parts, the firſt reaches from the creation to the death of Moſes, when the children of Iſrael being come to the borders of the promiſed land (the ſecond time) were ready to enter in; and contains the remarkables in the five books of Moſes, taking in Job between Geneſis and Exodus.

7. The

7. The ſecond part, beginning with the book of Joſhua, goes through that and the book of Judges with the firſt book of Samuel, and carries on the hiſtory from the death of Moſes to the death of Saul, and the account that was brought to David of it. In which are recounted the tranſactions of chief note under all the Judges and Saul, the firſt anointed king of Iſrael.

8. The third part (by much the largeſt) goes on with the ſecond book of Samuel, through the reſt of the canonical ſcripture, ſets forth the reigns of the kings of Iſrael and Judah throughout the Jewiſh monarchy, with the moſt remarkable acts and occurrences therein, from David to the return of the laſt Babyloniſh captivity, and re-building of the temple, taking in the Prophets as near as may be, in their ſeveral times.

Then he gives account who hath wrote on this ſubject; particularly a Treatiſe called 'The General 'View of the Holy Scriptures,' ſuppoſed to be the learned Broughton's; which T. Ellwood commends as a uſeful diſcourſe in its kind. And of late years 'Chr. Neſs his Hiſtory and Myſtery of the Old and 'New Teſtament,' in four volumes; a book (ſays he) well fraught with variety of uſeful matter; but (wittily obſerves) the myſtery is not only interwoven with the hiſtory, but hath alſo ſo much overgrown it that

that the reader who desires to peruse the history by itself, will be at some loss in that respect. And that which promises most to answer his end, he says, is R. Blome's History of the Old and New Testament. A work indeed (says he) not only instructive and delightful, but pompous and magnificent. A character that may justly be applied to his own (except the word pompous). A work indeed it is both pleasant and profitable; such judicious observations, and witty (though grave) turns on passages and things, as make it, as well as his other writings, not only pleasant to read, but profitable to the reader. A work that will remain a monument of his worth and ingenuity to generations to come.

I would only add, that there is a book of Sulpitius Severus, intitled Sacred History; but as that is in Latin, and far short of this of T. Ellwood's, so this cannot interfere with that, or be justly thought to be in imitation of it.

About this time we entered into a more particular correspondence by letters on several occasions, which we continued, at times, almost till his death. So that I usually imparted to him the most remarkable occurrences that passed here, and often advised with him in the most important affairs, as I had occasion: and he, in requital, was always ready to answer me, in a very obliging manner, in any thing I desired. And I must acknowledge, he was very helpful to me by his advice, in some controversies I had with some late adversaries, which

which I ſhall not now name, ſome of them being gone to their graves; and his friendly correſpondence was always very acceptable, and inſtructive as well as grateful to me, in his agreeable letters; of which I have many by me. Some of which he hath inſerted in his Decades.

The next year, viz. 1706, there followed an intercourſe of ſome letters between him and William Sewell, of Holland, upon ſome particular points, which led into a friendly correſpondence between them in ſome other matters not unpleaſant to read. Several of which letters of T. Ellwood's, are in his Decades, with many others to divers perſons, friends, and others, on various ſubjects; which, if ever it ſhould be thought meet to publiſh them, or any of them, they would, I doubt not, be very inſtructive, as well as diverting.

His next publick work was on this occaſion: About this time a book was publiſhed by a nameleſs author, called, "A Divine Treatiſe, written by way of "Eſſay, (pretending) to demonſtrate, according to "the Moſaical Philoſophy, Water-baptiſm, Impoſition "of hands, and the Commemoration of the Death "and Paſſion of our ever bleſſed Lord and Saviour, "under the Species of Bread and Wine," &c. This treatiſe coming accidentally or providentially to our friend Thomas Ellwood's hands, (as he ſays in his preface) he obſerved that the deſign of the author therein was, to re-introduce and ſet up again thoſe typical repreſentations therein treated of, among thoſe who

who have been led by the Lord out of the uſe thereof, into a more ſpiritual diſpenſation. And finding his underſtanding in ſome meaſure opened, to ſee the danger and miſchief of that undertaking, and his ſpirit withal ſtirred in him againſt it, he felt a concern upon his mind to publiſh his obſervations which he had made thereon, that others might the more clearly ſee and readily eſcape the ſnare therein laid to entangle them, and draw them into bondage to outward ceremonies, and elementary ſhadows again. This he did in a book printed 1707, intitled, "The glorious Bright-"neſs of the Goſpel Day, diſpelling the Shadows of "the legal Diſpenſation, and whatſoever elſe of hu-"man Invention hath been ſuperadded thereunto." And hoped to make it evident, that they are not of the nature of the goſpel diſpenſation; nor have by any divine inſtitution a continued place or ſervice in the church of Chriſt, without taking notice who or what he was that wrote it. 'Since the author of the 'treatiſe, (ſays T. Ellwood) under my obſervation, 'hath thought fit to conceal his name, I ſhall not pry 'behind the curtain which himſelf hath thereby drawn 'before him, or concern myſelf to inquire either who 'or what he is, or has been; but without any regard 'to that, ſhall directly apply myſelf to give a plain 'anſwer to the moſt material parts of his treatiſe:' which he did to the purpoſe, in a cloſe and nervous anſwer; it being indeed an excellent treatiſe, well

worth the peruſal of every impartial reader: to whom therefore I recommend it.

And now I muſt ſay ſomething of him under another conſideration as well as writing. He had wrote ſeveral books againſt tithes, as before hinted, to ſhew the unſuitableneſs of them to the goſpel diſpenſation, being Jewiſh in their original, and Popiſh in their revival, and that the obligation of paying them was ceaſed under the goſpel, as to any divine right from ſcripture. And now it fell to his lot to ſuffer alſo in his turn for his teſtimony againſt the payment of them; for to him it was given, in the behalf of Chriſt, not only to believe in Him, (and bear witneſs to his coming in the fleſh, and offering up himſelf, to put an end to the law and prieſthood, tithes and offerings) but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake, being proſecuted, with three friends more, viz. John Penington, Abraham Butterfield, and William Catch, in the Exchequer for tithes, at the ſuit of Joſhua Leaper, tithe-farmer of Amerſham, in the county of Bucks, under Humphry Drake, clerk, rector, and parſon, (ſo called) of the rectory and pariſh church of Agmondeſham, alias Amerſham aforeſaid. Thomas Ellwood, with the reſt, were ſubpœna'd to appear at Weſtminſter in Trinity term, 1707, which they did by an attorney, to prevent being in contempt of the court, and took a copy of the complainant's bill. But for not anſwering, attachments were iſſued out in Michaelmas term to take them up; on which they were taken into cuſtody in the

the eleventh month, and afterwards an Habeas Corpus ſent down to the ſheriff of Bucks, to bring them up to the Exchequer bar in Trinity term, 1708, on which they came up. And to prevent the plaintiff's going on to a ſequeſtration by default, they put in their anſwers; ſetting forth the value of the tithes, according to the beſt of their knowledge. Yet ſo vexatious was the adverſary, that he would not be ſatisfied with their anſwer, but got a commiſſion of inquiry to examine witneſſes in the country, as to the value of the tithes, which they did at Amerſham in the tenth month. The firſt witneſs they examined was one E—— G——, of the pariſh of Cheſſam, aged (as they ſay) 44 years, or thereabouts, who depoſed, 'That he knew the com-'plainant and defendants; and had known the com-'plainant about ſixty years,' (which was about ſixteen years before he was born:) whereby we may judge of the reſt of his evidence: the charge of which commiſſion, and executing it, came to between thirty and forty pounds, though ſome of it was abated on taxing the coſt; and yet they proved little, if any thing more than the defendants had ſet down in their anſwers, yet went on to a hearing on it, and obtained a decree for the tithes and coſts. For not performing which, attachments were iſſued out afreſh againſt them in Trinity term, 1709, to the ſheriff of Hertfordſhire, (T. Ellwood, A. Butterfield, and W. Catch, living in that county, but John Penington, living in Bucks, was dropped, becauſe the attachments to the ſheriff of

Hertfordſhire would not reach him) and then a proclamation; but the ſheriff living remote, did not endeavour to take them, and the proſecutor ſeemed rather to aim at a ſequeſtration on their goods and eſtates, than their bodies; ſo that ſeeing them reſolved to go on, the defendants, to prevent it, offered to ſurrender themſelves to the ſheriff; but he returned them each, *Non eſt inventus*, and they got a commiſſion of rebellion antedated, and moved for a ſerjeant at arms the ſame day, to run them to a ſequeſtration in all haſte, (Leaper being ſick and bad, like to die) leaſt he ſhould not live till it was accompliſhed; but being ſo illegal, at leaſt in point of time, for that there ought to be eight days between the teſt and return of the writ, in thirty miles off London, and fourteen beyond, on our appearing againſt it, they could not obtain it till Hillary term. In which time Leaper recovered, and one might have hoped that he might have repented; but inſtead thereof, then got a ſequeſtration againſt them and their eſtates, both real and perſonal, for tithes of Thomas Ellwood, which was

but	—	— 12	—
And Abraham Butterfield's	—	15 15	6
And William Catch's	—	16 7	4
And coſt as taxed by the deputy		71 17	8
In all for tithes and coſt		104 12	6

For which they ſeized and took from T. Ellwood, in houſhold goods, bedding, pewter,

pewter, &c. (throwing out the meat to take the diſhes) to the value of 19l. and a horſe he uſed to ride on, which he would not have took 5 guineas for. In all about which they ſold (working and hobbling about the horſe, till they had almoſt ſpoiled him) all for about £. 14 15 —	24	10	—
And from Abraham Butterfield, cattle, corn, hay, &c. to the value of — which they ſold by their own account for ſo much. — — —	86	17	—
And from William Catch they took, by their account, graſs, &c. —	8	14	8
and a year's rent of his houſe, (deducting for taxes eleven ſhillings) — —	2	9	—
being about 3l. per annum, which they ſeized, and kept till paid; which for four years, ſince the time called Michaelmas, 1709, when they gave in their account, came to — — —	9	16	—
In all from W. Catch about	20	19	8
Seized and taken in the whole about	132	6	8
For tithes and coſt	104	12	6
More than demanded	27	14	2

And yet, what by charge of ſequeſtration making out, and ſelling the corn; ſelling underhand, &c. they brought in the defendants in debt, and wanted more.

I have been the larger in this account, to ſhew the proceeding of the Exchequer, and the fruit of tithes, to ruin the QUEEN's ſubjects for ſmall matters, when they might recover by juſtices warrants to the value of 10l. with the hundredth part of the charge.

Now we come to the ſecond volume of his great work, the Hiſtory of the New Teſtament, which he had had in hand at times, for the moſt part ſince he finiſhed his former; and when he had finiſhed this, he brought it up to London for friends peruſal and approbation; where it was read, and afterwards publiſhed this year, 1709, in folio, under the ſame title with the former, only as that was of the Old Teſtament, this was of the New, viz. 'Sacred Hiſtory, or the Hiſtorical Part of the Holy Scriptures of the New Teſtament.' &c. (as in the title of the former) which as I gave ſome account of, ſo it behoves I ſhould of this. The former treatiſe (ſays he in his preface) having found a favourable reception, he was thence encouraged to reſume his pen (which at the cloſe of that volume he had let fall) and proceed to the methodizing of the hiſtorical part of the New Teſtament in two parts. In the firſt part whereof the reader will find an account of the conception, birth, life, travels, doctrines, diſcourſes, miracles, ſufferings, death, burial, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, (the author of the true Chriſtian religion) plainly, fairly, and ſuccinctly given; uſhered in with a brief account of the conception

tion

tion, birth, manner of life, miniſtry, and death of his forerunner John, ſirnamed the Baptiſt: and attended (in the ſecond part) with a like hiſtorical account of the acts and travels of the apoſtles of our Lord, in the propagation of his bleſſed goſpel, after the aſcenſion of our bleſſed Saviour; ſo far, at leaſt, as the evangeliſt Luke, in the acts of the apoſtles, hath recorded, or the clue or thread of the holy text leads him; beyond which (he ſays) he was not willing to adventure, &c.

In this undertaking, he ſays, he aimed at the ſame end as in the former, viz. That all the youth eſpecially of either ſex, under whatſoever religious denomination they go, might be further furniſhed with ſuch an entertainment, to ſpend at leaſt, their leiſure hours upon, as might yield them at once both profit and delight; and might be thereby drawn off from miſ-ſpending their precious time upon other, either hurtful, or (at beſt) unprofitable ſubjects. Then he gives account why he hath, with the matter of fact, delivered the diſcourſes, ſpeeches, ſermons, and doctrines delivered by our bleſſed Lord to his diſciples, &c. viz. That the nature of the hiſtory required it, and that without it the diſcourſe would have been leſs profitable and pleaſant to the reader, and by that means leſs conducive to the end he propoſed, which is to allure him to read the Holy Scriptures with delight, &c. according to the Poet,

Omnia tulit punctum, qui miſcuit utile dulci.

He certainly doth hit the white,
Who mingleth profit with delight.

After which he gives an account of his going from place to place in the Evangeliſts, to reduce the ſeveral parts and paſſages of the hiſtory (in the firſt part) to their due and proper times and places, which he endeavoured to do, (though difficult) as near as he could. But the ſecond part (the Acts) being all written by one hand, the method (he ſays) is more regular, and the courſe of the hiſtory more clear. Yet the apoſtolical epiſtles being without date, are hardly, he conceives, to be reduced with indubitable certainty to exact order; which yet he hath endeavoured to place them right, according to the beſt of his underſtanding. Then owning the helps he had in compiling this hiſtory, had been chiefly from the criticks, and Cradock's Harmony of the four Evangeliſts, and his Apoſtolical Hiſtory, with a few words of the performance; which if not done as it ſhould (nor as he would) yet as well as he could; and therefore, in all humility, recommending and committing it to the divine diſpoſal, he concludes his preface.

Next to the preface is an introduction, concerning the penmen of the New Teſtament, and in what language originally written, and in what order of time; particularly of the four evangeliſts, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, what they were, the time of their writing, and ſome particular circumſtances con-

concerning

cerning them and their ends; well worth the reader's peruſal, for the better underſtanding the hiſtory, both of the evangeliſts and apoſtles. So proceeds to the Hiſtory; which he deduces from the promiſed ſeed after the fall, for man's reſtoration, which the prophets foretold the coming of, and which he pleaſantly draws out at large in order of time, and explains with the like judicious obſervations as in the former, taking in the Epiſtles of St. Paul, &c. (in the ſecond part) in their proper places, (as near as could be) and gives an account of them, the occaſion why, the manner how, and time when they were written; ending with the Revelations, which he renders as a revelation unrevealed; with ſome brief notes on it. The whole, as I ſaid of the former, being both pleaſant and profitable; both which will remain a laſting monument of him in time to come.

This year, 1710, our friend Oliver Sanſom, formerly of Farringdon, ſince of Abingdon, in Berkſhire, who had long war with the prieſts about tithes, dying in the ſecond month, and leaving behind him an account of ſome remarkable paſſages of his life, which he communicated in his lifetime to our friend T. Ellwood to peruſe, who being always ready to be helpful and ſerviceable to all, eſpecially his friends, he tranſcribed the ſame, and fitted it for the preſs, which was printed this year; to which T. Ellwood prefixed a teſtimony concerning him, pertinent to the occaſion.

There is one book more of his, which he publiſhed in his lifetime, which it ſeems he had had by him, for the moſt part, a long time, and after he had finiſhed his Sacred Hiſtory of the New Teſtament,* he took in hand to finiſh, and compleated; and that is the Life of DAVID in verſe; firſt begun (for his own diverſion, not then thinking of the preſs) and carried on, by degrees, to the end of the third book, in the year 1688, as hinted before in that year, when the Prince of Orange landing, and the nation being in arms, the noiſe of guns, and ſounds of drums and trumpets ſo affrighted and diſturbed his peaceful muſe, (as he ſays in his preface) that both ſhe for a while forſook him, and he thereupon the work, for above twenty years; ſave that on a review, obſerving how abruptly David was brought in, he added the firſt chapter of the firſt book, to introduce his hero from the beginning of his ſtory. Where it reſted again, without any proſpect of its ever going further, until the laſt winter, (1711) when having (as he ſays) leſs health and more leiſure, than at ſome times before, he took it up for an entertainment, to make ſome uneaſy hours paſs ſomewhat leſs uneaſily over. And after he had read it through, conſidering that if, after his death, it ſhould be found among his papers, and committed to the preſs, it would be but an imperfect piece; he found an inclination to carry on the

* A new edition of which has been lately publiſhed, in 3 volumes, and may be had of the printer hereof.

ſtory

ſtory to the end of David's Life, (I wiſh he had done ſo by his own) and giving a kind invitation to his gentle muſe to return (which by ſome ſhort viſits on particular occaſions in the interval, had given him ſome ground to hope ſhe had not quite forſook him) he entered again upon the ſubject where he had left off, and by degrees went through it, till he had brought his warlike hero to his peaceful grave.

After it was finiſhed, deliberating whether to publiſh it himſelf, or leave it as a poſthume, to be publiſhed by ſome kind hand after his death; for ſome reaſons particularly, That if any ſhould carp at it, he might be capable to anſwer for himſelf, he thought beſt to publiſh it in his lifetime; and accordingly brought it up with him when he came to the Yearly-meeting, 1712, but not having then an opportunity to have it read, he came up again with it ſome time after (which I think was the laſt time he was at London) and after reading, committed it to the preſs this year, under the title of "DAVIDEIS. The Life of David, King "of Iſrael. A ſacred Poem, in five Books, in "octavo." Though, as he obſerves, Abraham Cowley wrote a poem called Davideis, he had not read it till after he had finiſhed his; and beſides, their different way of writing, A. Cowley's was but of the troubles of David in his youth, and that not half finiſhed. And that he had the ſame aim in this, as in that of his ſacred Hiſtory aforeſaid: which book begins thus:

I ſing the Life of David, Iſrael's King,
Aſſiſt, thou Sacred Pow'r, who didſt him bring
From the ſheepfold, and ſet him on the throne,
Thee, I invoke, on Thee rely alone.
Breathe on my muſe, and fill her ſlender quill
With Thy refreſhing dews from Hermon-hill;
That what ſhe ſings may turn unto Thy praiſe,
And to Thy Name may laſting trophies raiſe.

But I would not anticipate the reader, but leave him to read and judge for himſelf, as it deſerves.

I ſhall conclude his works and writings with a copy of verſes he formerly wrote; which though out of courſe as to time, is ſo well worth the inſerting, that I hope they will make amends for being miſ-placed, viz.

O that mine eye might cloſed be,
To what becomes me not to ſee!
That deafneſs might poſſeſs mine ear,
To what concerns me not to hear!
That truth my tongue might always tie,
From ever ſpeaking fooliſhly!
That no vain thought might ever reſt,
Or be conceived in my breaſt!
That by each word, each deed, each thought,
Glory may to my God be brought!

But

But what are wiſhes? Lord! mine eye
On Thee is fixt, to Thee I cry:
O purge out all my droſs, my tin,
Make me more white than ſnow within;
Waſh, Lord, and purify my heart,
And make it clean in every part,
And when 'tis clean, Lord keep it too,
For that is more than I can do.

T. E.

Thus having gone through his printed books and papers, which I have endeavoured to give a plain and ſuccinct account of, and of him out of them, as far as I could, and with as much brevity as well might be, I ſhall now ſpeak ſomewhat of him in his private capacity, and other ſervices and ſtation in the church, with his death and character; and ſo conclude the whole.

He lived many years, if not moſt of his time, eſpecially after he was married, at Hunger-hill, in the pariſh of Agmondeſham, alias Amerſham, in Buckinghamſhire, though his houſe ſtood in Hertfordſhire, as aforeſaid; where the Monthly meetings of men and women were conſtantly kept, for that part of the county of Bucks: wherein he was very ſerviceable in writing, adviſing, and exhorting to keep all things well and in good order, according to truth and the teſtimony

teſtimony thereof; and had a peculiar gift for government in the church, and ordering things in Monthly and Quarterly meetings, and uſed to come up conſtantly to the Yearly-meeting at London, and was very ſerviceable therein; not only by his grave counſel and advice, but alſo in reading and writing on occaſion, eſpecially in difficult matters. He had a ſingular talent in indicting and compoſing of things, epiſtles, and papers, beyond many; ſo that I muſt needs ſay, he was an ornament to the meeting, and will be much miſſed therein, and many other ways. His wife died about five years before him, being a ſolid weighty woman, who had a publick teſtimony for the Lord and his truth in meetings; and therefore the greater loſs to him and friends: and for himſelf, he lived a private retired life, not concerning himſelf with much buſineſs in the world, but gave himſelf much to reading and writing, and lived in good repute among friends, and all ſorts of people, as far as ever I heard of, to a pretty good age; but bore his age very well, being of a regular life, and healthy conſtitution; only in his latter years was ſomewhat troubled at times with an aſthma; and at laſt he was taken ill of a palſy, the 23d of the ſecond month, 1713, which he bore with great patience and reſignation; an account of which, and his dying words, I leave to them who were with him in the time of his ſickneſs, the eighth day of which he departed this life, being the 1ſt of the third month, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, having

having ſerved his generation according to the will of God, he fell aſleep, and was honourably buried the ſecond day following, being the 4th of the third month, at Jordans; being accompanied from his own houſe by a great many friends and others, to the meeting-houſe there (the meeting he belonged to) and interred in the burying-ground belonging thereto, where was a very large meeting, and great appearance of friends and others, ſeveral publick friends being there from London, and other parts; and divers living teſtimonies borne to the truth he lived and died in, in a living remembrance of him, and his ſervices in the church. A man of a comely aſpect, of a free and generous diſpoſition, of a courteous and affable temper, and pleaſant converſation; a gentleman, a ſcholar, a true Chriſtian, an eminent author, a good neighbour, and kind friend; whoſe loſs is much lamented, and will be much miſſed at home and abroad. The Lord, if it be his will, raiſe up many more ſuch pillars, elders, and overſeers of his flock and family, as watchmen upon Sion's walls, for his honour, and the benefit of his church and people, ſaith my ſoul. Amen.

J. WYETH.

LONDON,
the 30th of the ninth month, 1713.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the writing of the foregoing Supplement, I have underſtood that our friend THOMAS ELLWOOD, after he had finiſhed and publiſhed his Davideis, ſignified, That he had but one thing more that lay upon his mind; and that was, to add ſomething to his Journal, or Account of his Life; which was chiefly to give an account of his books and writings: which, as it ſhews he had not done it, or finiſhed it before, and it is to be doubted he did not after (not living long after that) and ſo no more to be expected (more is the pity) from his own hand. So it ſhews what his deſign was, as to what he intended to have added to it, had he lived to perform it, or had not death prevented him. So that the aforeſaid Supplement ſeems (in ſome ſort at leaſt) to anſwer his own intention, though far ſhort, as was ſaid, of what his own hand could have done; yet ſo far as it does any way anſwer his mind, I am therein glad that I have done any ſervice to his memory, or the truth in that reſpect, having endeavoured to repreſent things according to his own mind, and to ſpeak of him and things as probably he would have done if he had been living,

living, and hope the reader will accept it the better. To whom therefore I recommend it, as giving at leaſt a fair character of the books he wrote, and controverſies he managed, both publiſhed and unpubliſhed; which I hope will be no diſſervice (but ſervice) to the truth, as it is intended in the fear of God: To whoſe honour, and the ſervice of his truth, I deſire with great ſincerity, to dedicate the remainder of my days, and reſt

A Friend to all Men.

J. WYETH.

FINIS.

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A

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A

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1. An Anſwer to a Paper directed to the Members of the Society of Quakers, eſpecially to thoſe that frequent the Town of Feverſham, (in Kent) 1672. To which the Prieſt replying, T. Ellwood wrote a Rejoinder, very notable, and worth the publiſhing. The whole about 15 Sheets, in 1672, or 1673.

2. His Reply, or Rejoinder to the Prieſt's ſecond Book, called The Right of Tithes Re-aſſerted. 46 Sheets. About 1681.

5. Some

MANUSCRIPTS.

3. Some Remarks on Gerard Croeſe's General Hiſtory of the Quakers, in Latin, 3 or 4 Sheets. About 1695, or 1696.

4. A Rejoinder to the Snake in the Graſs, his Book called Satan Diſrobed, in Reply to T. Ellwood's Anſwer to G. Keith's Narrative, 27 Sheets. 1696.

5. Some Inſtructions for Children. About 2 Sheets.

6. An Anſwer to G. Keith's Deiſm of W. Penn and his Brethren, 37 Sheets. 1700.

7. An Anſwer to John Shockling, Prieſt of Aſh near Sandwich in Kent, concerning Baptiſm, 1701, and a Rejoinder to his Reply, 1702, both about 3 Sheets.

8. The Tithe Dialogue Improved, for the better explaining the preſent State of Tithes, by the ſame Method of a Dialogue, ſuppoſed to be holden between a Titheman and a Quaker. 6 Sheets. 1707.

9. A Volume of Miſcellany Poems, about 20 Sheets.

10. Several

MANUSCRIPTS.

10. Several Decades of Letters to particular Perſons, about 35 Sheets.

11. To Robert Snow, in Anſwer to his Objections.

12. An Account of Tithes in general.

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